

THE 'TEMPLAR OF TYRE'

PAUL F. CRAWFORD

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CRUSADE TEXTS IN TRANSLATION

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To Peter W. Edbury
Sine qua non

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The 'Templar of Tyre'

Part III of the 'Deeds of the Cypriots'

PAUL CRAWFORD

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2003 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

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British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Crawford, Paul

The 'templar of Tyre' : part III of the deeds of the

Cypriots. - (Crusade texts in translation)

1.Crusades - Later, 13th, 14th and 15th centuries 2.Cyprus

- History

I.Title

940.1'84

Library of Congress Control Number: 2003048919

ISBN 13: 978-1-84014-618-9 (hbk)

Contents

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>ix</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xi</i>
Introduction	1
The ‘ <i>Templar of Tyre</i> ’ (§§237-702 of the <i>Gestes des Chiprois</i>)	15
<i>Glossary</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	<i>189</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>191</i>



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Acknowledgements

This translation was made possible by the efforts of a great many people. Foremost among them is Peter Edbury – without him, the project would not have been begun, carried through, nor finished. I owe him a very great debt of gratitude. In addition, John Smedley of Ashgate must be mentioned and thanked particularly for his steady patience and apparently unwavering faith in the eventual completion of this volume.

A number of other people supplied technical advice or assistance. These include Malcolm Barber, Franca Barracelli, Li-Ping Bu, Michael Chamberlain, Paul Chevedden, John Dotson, Jaroslav Folda, John France, P. M. Holt, D. M. Metcalf, David Nicolle, Helen Nicholson, John Pryor, Ute Stargardt and Kazimierz Zaniewski. There are no doubt others to whom I should offer thanks but whose contributions I have inadvertently forgotten – to them I offer my apologies.

My wife Ardella deserves special thanks for a great many things, including serving as a resident consultant on grammar and style, listening critically to large sections of the text, and (last but not least) tolerating this relentless competitor for my time and attention over the last six years.

Regardless of the value of the contributions of others, the end result is mine, and any criticisms of its shortcomings, which are doubtless plentiful, must fall on me alone.



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Abbreviations

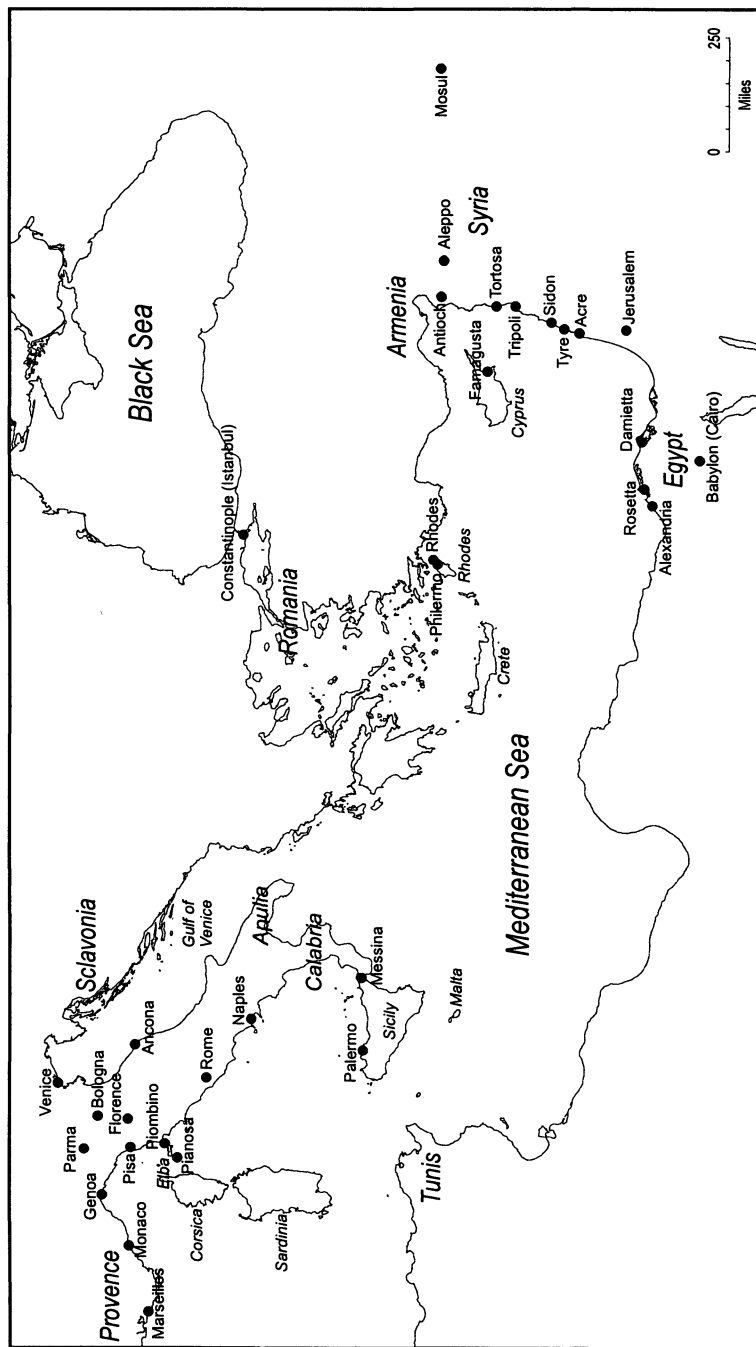
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archive d'Orient Latin</i> , ed. members of the <i>Société de l'Orient latin</i> , vol. II, Paris, 1884, repr. New York, 1971.
<i>Amadi</i>	<i>Chronique d'Amadi</i> , ed. René de Mas Latrie, in <i>Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi</i> , Paris, 1891–93, Part I (part of the series <i>Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Première série: histoire politique</i>).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>HC</i>	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. Kenneth Setton, 6 vols., Madison, Wisc., 1969–89.
<i>Minervini</i>	<i>Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314): la caduta degli Stati Crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare</i> , ed. and trans. Laura Minervini, Naples, 2000.
<i>Raynaud</i>	<i>Les Gestes des Chiprois: recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en orient aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles (Philippe de Navarre [sic] et Gérard de Montréal)</i> , ed. and trans. Gaston Raynaud, Geneva, 1887.
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Les Gestes des Chiprois</i> , in <i>Recueil des historiens des croisades [RHC], Documents arméniens</i> , vol. II, Paris, 1906, pp. 653–1012.



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Map 1 Medieval Mediterranean

** Maps prepared by the author with the kind assistance of Kazimierz Zaniewski*



Map 2 Medieval Eastern Mediterranean

** Maps prepared by the author with the kind assistance of Kazimierz Zaniewski*

Introduction

The chronicle commonly attributed to the ‘Templar of Tyre’ is the single most important surviving account of the last days of the mainland crusader states. It is, for example,¹ the only chronicle with a contemporary eyewitness account of the fall of Acre in 1291, and it is the most reliable source we possess for much of the history of the Latin East between the 1230s and 1240s, when it begins, and the early fourteenth century (it breaks off in the middle of the events of 1309, after having made reference to events in 1314²). It is the third section of a longer work known since the nineteenth century as the *Gestes des Chiprois*,³ a history which in its original form may have begun with Adam (or perhaps with the First Crusade) and ended sometime between 1314 and 1343 (probably before 1321 and almost certainly not later than 1324). As such, it lies within the tradition of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, the ‘Annals of the Holy Land’, rather than the tradition of William of Tyre and his continuators.

Despite its importance to historians of the Crusades and of the Latin East, the ‘Templar of Tyre’ has not previously been rendered into English, although a modern edition and translation into Italian was published by Laura Minervini in 2001.⁴

¹ There is at least one other contemporary eyewitness account, a letter written by the Hospitaller Master John of Villiers, written in summer (possibly June) 1291 to the Hospitaller Commander of Provence William of Villaret. There appear to be no other accounts by eyewitnesses, though many other reports exist.

² See the discussion of the ending date of the chronicle on page 10 below, esp. n. 37.

³ See the *RHC*, p. ccxii, noting that Florio Bustron refers to Philip of Novara’s portion by this name, and extending it to the whole chronicle. The first section of the *Gestes des Chiprois* (part of which is missing) is an augmented variant of the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, now covering the years 1132–1218; the second section is based on the memoirs of Philip of Novara, covering the years 1218–43 and supplemented by the author-compiler of the *Gestes* with material from the *Annales*.

The first section has never been translated into a modern language. In 1936 John La Monte published an English translation of a hypothetical reconstruction of Philip’s original text, including (in an appendix) paragraphs which he believed to have been additions by the author of the *Gestes* (John La Monte & M. J. Hubert (trans.), *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, New York, 1936). La Monte relied mostly on the reconstruction of Philip of Novara as published by Kohler in the *RHC* edition rather than Raynaud’s more straightforward edition, though he made a few emendations of his own (La Monte & Hubert, p. 6).

⁴ Laura Minervini, trans. & ed., *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314)*, Naples, 2000.

The author

Although the work presented in this volume has been known for more than a century as 'The Templar of Tyre', implying that it was written by a member of the Templar Order who lived in Tyre, the text itself neither possesses a formal title nor provides any direct indication of its author; the only extant medieval copy is missing its beginning and ending folios, so the title, if any, which its author might have given it is lost. So is incontrovertible proof of its author's name.

The modern title of 'Templar of Tyre' derives from the fact that the author plainly had an association of some kind with William of Beaujeu, master of the Templars from 1273–1291. But this association is insufficient to identify the author as an actual member of the Order, since many people served with the Order in varying capacities without being fully-fledged members of it. In addition, if the author had been a member of the Order, he would almost certainly have been arrested and imprisoned in 1308 along with the other Templars who were in Cyprus, and it is fairly plain that he was not. Most authors writing after the initial discovery of the manuscript in the nineteenth century have doubted or denied that the author of the text was a Templar, though for want of a better title 'Templar of Tyre' has stuck.

Although the author's name cannot be determined conclusively, elements of his biography can be extrapolated from the chronicle. We do not know his birthplace, although it probably was Cyprus, since in 1269 the author was a *valet* or *valé*, probably a page (although the word can also mean 'squire') in the service of Margaret of Antioch-Lusignan when she married John of Montfort at Tyre.¹ Since boys ceased to serve in the capacity of pages at about age 15, we can be reasonably certain that our author was born not earlier than 1254. The author says he served Margaret for a year, so it seems reasonable to suppose that he was about 14 in 1269, with another year to go before he became a knight. This would place his birth in or about 1255.

Margaret of Antioch-Lusignan was the sister of King Hugh III of Cyprus, and married to one of the great nobles of the kingdom of Jerusalem. It therefore also seems reasonable to suppose that the author was at least of minor nobility, since a commoner would hardly have been taken into the service of such a high-born lady.

Margaret and her husband lived in Tyre – hence the association of the author with that city. As noted above, this was probably not his native city; however, the text strongly implies that the author lived in Tyre at least between 1269 and 1283.

For example, he recounts the assassination in 1270 of his lady's father-in-law, Philip of Montfort, in such vivid detail that one is forced to conclude that he was either there himself at the time it happened, or that he had an immediate and thorough report from someone who was.² He appears to have continued to live in

¹ §371.

² §374.

Tyre, whether or not in the service of the Montforts, for some time thereafter (although he appears to have witnessed a rather nasty victory celebration held in Acre by the Pisans in 1282¹). In 1283 we find him at the burial of John of Montfort, still in Tyre.²

Shortly after that, in 1285, he describes himself as being at Acre, serving the master of the Templars, William of Beaujeu, as a scribe, writing out the text of a peace treaty between the Templars and the king of Cyprus.³ He was still there the next year (1286), when the young king of Cyprus, Henry II, came to Acre to be crowned king of Jerusalem as well. The author describes the lavish festivals put on for the affair, which included cross-dressed jousts and something very like Arthurian live-action role-playing. His loving detail strongly suggests that he was personally present.⁴

Thereafter he appears as a close advisor of the Templar master: as Charles Kohler put it, a confidante and a collaborator. Again in 1286, he is found in the private counsel of the master in an interesting little affair. The prince of Antioch-Tripoli intended, in 1286, to arrest a Genoese admiral named Tommaso Spinola. A knight sent the Templar master a letter warning him of this fact; the master gave the letter, with the knight's name excised, to the author, who sent the now anonymous warning on to Spinola, saving him from arrest and imprisonment.⁵ This is a significant report, as there are also several other indications that the author may have served as a sort of private intelligence officer for William of Beaujeu.

The next personal reference is from 1288, when the author says that two merchants from Alexandria urged the sultan of Egypt to attack Tripoli, and that he could tell the reader the very names of the merchants if he chose to do so (he does supply the words with which they addressed the sultan, either by reconstruction or because he actually knew what they had said).⁶ Again in 1288, we find that Master William of Beaujeu had a spy in Egypt – not surprising, perhaps, but what is significant is that the author not only knows about it, but also knows the name of the informant, who was a highly placed Saracen emir. Furthermore, this communication was not an isolated event; the emir was in the permanent pay of the Temple and was to alert them to any dangerous moves on the part of the sultan. The fact that the exact identity of such an important spy was revealed by William of Beaujeu to the author would seem to place him in a position of great trust and confidence, privy to knowledge that only a very few people could possibly have been allowed to know.⁷ Charles Kohler even speculated that the author himself may have been a messenger between the two; as we shall see, the author spoke

¹ §412.

² §420.

³ §435.

⁴ §439.

⁵ §457.

⁶ §473.

⁷ §474.

Arabic and could have performed this office, though there is no direct evidence that he did.¹

The author next refers to himself in 1290, as the final curtain was descending on Christian Outremer. At least at one point during the correspondence carried on between Sultan Khalil al-Ashraf and the master of the Temple, the author himself translated the sultan's letters from Arabic to French for the master, demonstrating, as mentioned above, that he had command of the former language.² He was apparently *not* privy to the deliberations of the city council of Acre in 1290, as was his employer.³

During the subsequent siege of Acre in 1291, the author's description demonstrates an intimate knowledge of events. He was present on 18 May 1291, when a lightly armed William of Beaujeu led a hastily-assembled, desperate counterattack against the Saracens who were breaking in everywhere.⁴ With the master were the personnel of his household, and among them was certainly the author. He describes how the Templar troops put up a fierce fight against overwhelming odds; he gives a short but terrible picture of the death of an English *valé* who was caught in a burst of Greek fire; and he recounts the mortal injury and subsequent removal from combat of his master in such vivid detail that the reader may almost imagine himself to have been present as well.

The author then notes that some Templars, including the next master, Theobald Gaudin, were sent out of the doomed city to Sidon.⁵ His description of the events of the last ten days of dying Acre loses so much detail and accuracy compared to the account prior to that point that it seems almost certain that he accompanied these refugees. Indeed, if he had not, he would surely have perished with the thousands who died when the last centre of resistance, the Templar stronghold, fell on the twenty-eighth of May. At the least he would have been captured, but the text gives no indication that he was.

From Sidon he appears to have gone, with other refugees, to Cyprus, and after this his association with the Templars seems to have ended, a fact which almost conclusively demonstrates that he was not, in fact, a professed Templar brother.⁶ He is sharply critical of the behavior of the new master, Theobald Gaudin, blaming

¹ *RHC*, p. ccxlii.

² §485. Various Templar officers are to be provided with a 'Saracen scribe' according to the Templar Rule; see *The Rule of the Templars*, Judith Upton-Ward, trans., Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1992, §§77, 99, 110, 120, and 125. Further evidence of the author's grasp of Arabic may be found in §§310–11, 485, and 599 (in §§310–11 he has not gotten the translation precisely right, but in §599 he uses the correct word for the 'wilderness' between Syria and Egypt).

³ §481.

⁴ §498.

⁵ §509.

⁶ It was not uncommon, in any event, for secular knights to associate themselves with military orders for a time. See, for example, §392, where the secular knight Paul of La Tehaffa is on campaign with the Templars.

him for the loss of Sidon and all-but-openly accusing him of cowardice.¹ He shows no partisanship for the Templars against the Hospitallers,² and he is intimately acquainted with the privations suffered by the mainland refugees in Cyprus and with the general indifference shown to their plight by the Cypriots.³ He may have been attached in some capacity either to Philip of Ibelin or to the court of King Henry II himself; for example, in 1293 he was at Larnaca on the southern coast of Cyprus when a Venetian captain stopped by, on his way to one of the endless battles between the Most Serene Republic and her archrivals, the Genoese. The author was present at the audience King Henry gave to the captain, and reports parts of this rather insignificant conversation verbatim.⁴

After the end of 1293, the author seems to have had little direct involvement in the events he describes, although the detail and tone of his description of the combined raiding expedition of the Cypriots and military orders in 1300 do strongly suggest that he accompanied it.⁵ Much of his material after 1293 appears to be second-hand. He seems to have settled permanently in Cyprus, though there is one tantalizing hint that he might have taken a voyage to the West some time between 1293 and 1314: he gives a very precise description of what Philip the Fair looked like.⁶ Had he himself seen Philip? It is possible that he is merely repeating a second-hand description, but the account is suspiciously detailed, like the accounts of other events at which he was plainly present.

All this leaves us still without a name for the author. The nineteenth-century editors of the work suspected that he may have been a knight by the name of Gérard de Montréal, and there is some justification for this theory, though the evidence for it is not conclusive. Florio Bustron, who himself wrote a history of Cyprus in the sixteenth century, lists the *Gesti di Ciprioti* (*Gestes des Chiprois*) as one of his sources. He describes this *Gesti* as a work written by Philip of Novara, plainly referring to the middle section of the larger *Gestes des Chiprois*. Bustron goes on to say that after him (that is, after Philip of Novara), Gérard of Montréal memorialized many of the things that happened in his own time.⁷ Count Paul Riant was the first to note this attribution, in the early 1880s, and his tentative identification of the author of the 'Templar of Tyre' with Gérard of Montréal has

¹ §510.

² §678.

³ §§516 and 530.

⁴ §538.

⁵ §615–19.

⁶ §649.

⁷ Florio Bustron, *Historia overo Commentarii de Cipro di Florio Bustron*, in *Mélanges historiques. Choix de documents. Tome cinquième*, Paris, 1886 (part of the series *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Mélanges historiques*), p. 8.

not been seriously challenged since then, despite the fact that it is not conclusive and other interpretations of Bustron's reference exist.¹

We know a little more about Gérard: the anonymous early modern history of Cyprus owned by Francesco Amadi (whose name has become attached to that history) follows Gérard's text for that portion of the chronicle which covers the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.² Although the last pages of the 'Templar of Tyre' itself are missing, we can look to 'Amadi' for clues as to what those pages might have contained, because 'Amadi' becomes rather short on detail just after the point where the 'Templar' breaks off. 'Amadi' gives us one last glimpse of Gérard: he and another individual called William of Mirabel are involved in negotiations surrounding the return of King Henry II to Cyprus, after his brother Amalric, who had supplanted him, was murdered in June 1310.³ This bit of information almost certainly comes from the lost pages of Gérard's own chronicle.⁴

After this we have no certain knowledge of him, though there is one more tantalizing possibility. In 1531, the Venetians (who by then owned Cyprus) carried out an inquiry into Cypriot law. Their commission reported back that one Gérard de Montréal, a noted jurist, had compiled an edition of these laws, or *Assises*, and written a sort of preamble to them. The Venetians praised the work of this Gérard de Montréal highly, and translated it into Venetian for their own use.⁵

Count Paul Riant, writing in the 1880s, believed that this Gérard was the same person as the author of the 'Templar'. Charles Kohler, writing in 1906, thought it was a different person with the same name.⁶ He believed that the legal works of this Gérard of Montréal were not written until after 1369, partly because on that date a legal assembly of Cypriot lords was held but did not mention such a work, and partly because he did not think that the fourteenth-century Gérard of Montréal, author of the 'Templar', evidenced the sort of legal mind that could or would produce an edition of the *Assises*.

This seems a conclusion based on slender evidence. The author of the 'Templar' was plainly familiar with the laws of the kingdom of Jerusalem and Cyprus, as his discussion of the military responsibilities of various entities, drawn

¹ There is the possibility that Bustron was referring to the work of two different authors – that Bustron, and 'Amadi' before him, did indeed draw on the work of Gérard of Montréal, but that Gerard's work was distinct from the text of the 'Templar' and is now lost. In this case, the linkage between Gérard and the 'Templar' would disappear.

² 'Chronique d'Amadi', in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi, Première partie*, Paris, 1896 (part of the series *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Première série, Histoire politique*).

³ 'Amadi', p. 345; Bustron, p. 207.

⁴ Bustron also reports the incident, but he seems essentially to have reworked 'Amadi' for the second half of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth (i.e., the period covered by the 'Templar of Tyre') and so has little independent value here.

⁵ Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. III, Paris, 1861, pp. 517, 529.

⁶ *RHC*, ccxlvii–ccxlviii.

apparently from the pages of John of Ibelin's *Assises*, clearly shows.¹ Nor does the rest of the 'Templar' display the work of a mind incapable of legal thought; for example, the author demonstrates interest in and familiarity with the terms of the royal Cypriot privileges to the Genoese, and criticizes a royal castellan for not upholding them under pressure.² However, without further evidence, which was probably destroyed by the Turks on or after their capture of Cyprus in 1571, it is impossible to reach a firm conclusion on the matter. The author of the 'Templar of Tyre' may very well have been Gérard of Montréal – but we shall have to leave it at that.

History of the manuscript

We cannot be certain of the exact date of compilation of the text of the 'Templar of Tyre'. But whenever it was that author of the 'Templar' completed his work, the manuscript, or at least a copy of it, must have been in the castle at the Cypriot town of Kyrenia in 1343. In that year, an individual known as John le Miege made a copy of it.

John le Miege may have been a doctor – 'miege' is an Old French word for 'médecin' or doctor. The word was also a fairly common general-purpose surname, however. Whatever John's profession, he somehow fell afoul of the powers-that-were in fourteenth-century Cyprus, and found himself imprisoned in the castle at Kyrenia. There he set about making a copy of the *Gestes des Chiprois* to occupy his time.

This was both fortunate and unfortunate from a historical point of view. It was fortunate, because John's copy is the only manuscript of the *Gestes* to survive. It was unfortunate, on the other hand, that John himself was the individual to wield the copyist's pen, for he appears to have been poorly educated, and he carried out his task rather sloppily. The copy appears to contain many mistakes of a number of different kinds, and there is now no certain way to know the precise original text.³

And there is presently no way to know what happened to the manuscript from which John le Miege copied, which may or may not have been the autograph; it disappears from history. Charles Kohler believed that it was likely to have been in the possession either of the lieutenant of the castellan of Kyrenia, a man named Aimery of Milmars, or else of the castellan himself.⁴ Perhaps it was still at Kyrenia

¹ §§520–21.

² §539.

³ In addition, Charles Kohler believed that John le Miege both deleted and added material; his edition of c. 1913 attempted to reconstruct the text as it had originally been (*RHC*, p. ccxxi). This is problematic, however: it would be difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the copyist himself made alterations, or whether he merely copied a defective exemplar faithfully.

⁴ *RHC*, p. ccxx.

when the Ottoman Turks took Cyprus in 1571. A great quantity of material relating to the history of the Latin East (probably including the remains of the Templar archives) disappeared in 1571 or thereafter.

Some copy or another of the *Gestes* was available in subsequent centuries, however. Marino Sanudo the Elder almost certainly used it, in his early fourteenth-century *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, probably completed by 1321.¹ So did Leontios Machaeras (or Makhairas) in his fifteenth-century *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*.² And Florio Bustron and 'Amadi' used it, among other sources, as noted above.

Then it appears to have been practically forgotten for 300 years or more, until June 1882, when a pair of Italian amateur historians, Count Massimo Mola di Larissé and Carlo Perrin, were poking about in Verzuolo Castle.³ At the bottom of a box, they found John le Miege's *Gestes* copy. Perrin expressed interest in it, and the count, who owned the castle and thus the manuscript, gave it to his friend.

Perrin apparently took it home and tried his hand at producing an edition (he seems to have had some understandable difficulties, given the problems inherent in John le Miege's copy). He also notified Count Paul Riant, of the *Société de l'Orient Latin* in France, of his find.⁴ The Society was then producing its series of texts from the Latin East, and Riant naturally wanted to add this valuable work to the collection.

Perrin himself made a diplomatic copy⁵ – the nearest method to making a precise duplicate of a text that was available before the days of microfilm and

¹ Marino Sanudo finished the *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* and presented it to Pope John XXII in 1321 (it was subsequently revised at least twice); this provides a probable *terminus ad quem* for the completion of the 'Templar', since it would have had to have been finished and brought to Sanudo's attention some time before 1321. Sanudo was travelling around the Near East shortly after 1309, and is known to have been in Cyprus in (or shortly after) 1312 (see Joshua Prawer, 'Foreward' to the reprint of the *Liber*, Toronto, 1972, p. vii); he could conceivably have met and talked to the author of the 'Templar', who might then have sent him a copy of the work when it was completed some time after 1314.

In any case, the author refers to Otto of Grandson as though he were still living (§542; Otto died in 1328); he does not note the death of Anfrion, grandson of Humphrey of Montfort, in 1326, even though he is talking about people who died young in the passage in question (§423); and in §§371 and 658, he does not note that 'Little Hugh' grew up to become King Hugh IV in 1324. Because the 'Templar' describes events as late as 1314, it is therefore highly likely that it was completed some time between 1314 and 1324 (most likely between about 1315–1320).

² R. M. Dawkins, 'Bibliographical Note', in *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, R. M. Dawkins, ed. and trans., vol. II, Oxford, 1932, p. 8.

³ For the next several paragraphs, I am indebted in part to Silvio Melani's 'Introduction' to his edition of Philip of Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in oriente (1223–1242)*, Naples, 1994, pp. 1–6.

⁴ Kohler says Perrin notified Riant in June 1882 – i.e., immediately (*RHC*, p. ccxix).

⁵ *RHC*, p. ccxxv.

photocopies – and he gave this to Riant.¹ But Perrin also stipulated, as a condition of the manuscript's loan, that he be included in the process of preparing the Society's edition.²

The Society refused, presumably because Perrin's work was not of sufficiently high quality. Perrin appears to have taken offense, and refused ('courteously', according to Kohler³) to allow the Society to use his treasure directly in preparing the edition. Raynaud was forced to rely primarily on the diplomatic copy in producing his edition for the *Société de l'Orient latin* in 1887. So were the editors of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades [RHC]* in 1906, when they included the text of the *Gestes* in their magisterial collection of crusade texts and documents, in the second volume of *Documents arméniens* (although Kohler indicated that Raynaud did have a chance to compare the diplomatic copy with the manuscript, at least briefly, and that an intermediary, Jules Camus of the Turin War College, examined the manuscript and reported back to the *RHC* editors⁴).

Thus, although both the *RHC* edition and Raynaud's edition are useful in their own way, neither is primarily based on John le Miegé's fourteenth-century copy, but rather on Carlo Perrin's nineteenth-century diplomatic copy of the fourteenth-century copy. Raynaud's edition is rather literal, and provides few emendations and virtually no commentary.⁵ The *RHC* edition, prepared by Gaston Paris, Louis de Mas Latrie, and Charles Kohler, does a much more thorough job of trying to repair the problems in the text, supplying both emendations and copious notes.⁶

After Perrin's death, the manuscript disappeared, and crusade scholars subsequently thought it lost. In fact, it was not lost. It found its way into the library of King Victor Emmanuel III of Savoy, and from thence into the Royal Library of Turin. There it lay in quiet anonymity, as Ms. Varia 433, until the late 1970s, when a scholar of Italian literature discovered it. Alda Bart Rossebastiano published a brief notice about it in *Studi francesi* in 1979, but because this is a journal of Italian

¹ Paris, Bib. Nat., nouv. acq. fr. 6680, according to Rossebastiano, p. 76, n. 2.

² *RHC*, p. ccxxiv.

³ *RHC*, pp. ccxxiv–v.

⁴ *RHC*, pp. ccxix and ccxxv.

⁵ There is currently (2002) an electronic version of Raynaud's edition on the Web, at <www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/GuillaumeTyr5.html>. This version lacks commas or diacritical marks, which limits its usefulness, and the way it is introduced implies that it is one of the continuations of William of Tyre, which it is not; it is rather part of the tradition of *Annales de Terre Sainte*. But it can still be quite helpful, for example if one is searching the incidence of given words in the text.

⁶ As noted above, Kohler went on to try to reconstruct the text of Philip of Novara, using the nineteenth-century copy, the editions of Raynaud and the *RHC*, and reconstructions derived from 'Amadi' (Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1948, p. 1144). Kohler used *Eracles* and the *Annales de Terre Sainte* to determine what to weed out in order to reestablish original text (John La Monte, *Wars of Frederick II*, p. 5).

literature rather than of crusade history, the notice did not register amongst crusade historians.¹

Finally an Italian historian, Silvio Melani, realized that the manuscript of the *Gestes* had been rediscovered, and produced an edition and an Italian translation of Part II, the chronicle of Philip of Novara, in 1994.² In 2000, as noted above, Laura Minervini brought out an edition and Italian translation of Part III, the 'Templar of Tyre'.

Reliability of the text

Regardless of the exact identity of the author of the 'Templar of Tyre', and despite the problems introduced into the text by John le Miege, it remains a priceless source for the events it covers. Foremost among these, of course, is the destruction of Acre, the capital of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1291.³

In general, the author strives for a high degree of accuracy, and he often achieves it. Wherever he was an eyewitness (as he was at Acre), or seems to have had eyewitness reports of events, his information is of high quality and is generally reliable. As the author describes events more distant from his own arena, he is forced to rely on second-hand reports or hearsay, however, and his accuracy drops correspondingly. Place names of distant cities become mangled or misunderstood;⁴ nobles are occasionally assigned the wrong titles,⁵ relationships between people are misconstrued,⁶ and events are related in a mangled or flatly mistaken way.⁷ The author has trouble at times getting the exact details of papal accessions correct.⁸

¹ Alda Bart Rossebastiano, 'Sul disperso ms. di Cérines delle "Gestes des Chiprois", ora "Varia 433" della Biblioteca Reale di Torino', *Studi francesi* 67 (1979), pp. 76–9.

² Silvio Melani, ed. and trans., *Guerra di Federico II in oriente (1223–1242)*, Naples, 1994.

³ §§480–508.

⁴ E.g., §245, where Pope Innocent IV is identified with a family bearing the strange name of 'Dalsse', and Frederick II is said to have been defeated by papal forces at a city named 'Baline' (it should be noted that the editors of the *RHC* believed that 'Dalsse' was a copyist's error, however, and the same could be true of 'Baline').

⁵ As in §329ff, where Simon, Earl of Leicester, is mistakenly called the earl of Gloucester (though this, too, could conceivably be a copyist's error, not the author's), or §398, where Roger of San Severino is called the count of Marseilles (he was count of Marsico).

⁶ E.g., §334 and §369, having to do with western European nobility.

⁷ E.g., §334 (the battle of Evesham, described in a very faulty way), §398 (the suit of the *Damoiselle* Maria against King Hugh of Cyprus and Jerusalem in the papal court, the outcome of which is reported contrary to fact), §433 (the author states that Philip III captured Gerona, whereas he only besieged it unsuccessfully), §640 (the details of the conflict between Philip IV and Boniface VIII are jumbled), and §696 (the circumstances surrounding Philip IV's attack on the Templars are given an odd twist – although it is possible that the author knows something that escaped the attention of other writers).

⁸ See, for instance, §§357, 388, 394, 640, and 695.

Matters dealing with enemies are understandably difficult;¹ the origins of the Mongols, so far to the east of the Holy Land, are particularly fantastic and mixed with elements of legends from sources such as the Alexander romances.² Occasionally his rendition of Arabic words is flawed (though it is just as often accurate).

The author is usually judicious, and attempts to be fair even when he holds partisan views (as is the case with the Hohenstaufen, whom he evidently detests). His descriptions of people he has known are generally clear-eyed: Julian of Sidon is valiant, handsome, gallant and hardy, but also lustful and lacking in good sense³; Lady Margaret of Antioch, whom he plainly adores and who was the wife of the author's sometime lord John of Montfort, is the most beautiful lady in Outremer, truly good, wise and generous – but later in life she becomes extremely fat, 'quite out of reason'!⁴ He is much freer to be partisan in his poem on the fall of Acre than he is in the chronicle proper, but even there, in the midst of assailing corrupt churchmen, he interrupts his criticisms to note that although the Dominicans and Franciscans may sometimes exhibit unseemly pride, still the world would be a worse place without them, since they restrain men from sin.⁵

In general, the author strives for a high degree of accuracy, and he often achieves it, being most trustworthy when he is discussing matters he has himself participated in or witnessed and least trustworthy when discussing events which took place far away and for which he is forced to rely on second-hand reports or hearsay.

Summary of events

The author follows a fairly strict chronological outline for his work: events are presented, as much as possible, in the order in which they occurred. The work begins where the second section, based on the memoirs of Philip of Novara, leaves off, in the 1230s and 1240s, describing the various actions of Frederick II in both West and East. Conflict between the various Italian cities (both at home and throughout the Mediterranean) is a major and recurrent concern of the entire work, as is the disastrous interaction of the rivalries of the Italian cities with the factionalism of the East.

The final decades of the Hohenstaufen dynasty are described, with no great sympathy for the Imperial party. There is some coverage – rather superficial, due in part to a large lacuna covering the years 1249–1258 – of the first crusade of

¹ E.g., §§395 (a probable mistake), 404–05, 461, 590 and 611.

² §§581–4.

³ §§304 and 391.

⁴ §371.

⁵ §530, stanzas 49–50.

Louis IX (usually known as the Seventh Crusade).¹ The author spends some time discussing the origins, dynasties, and various campaigns of the Mongols, not always with complete accuracy, as we have seen. He notes the rise of Baibars, and follows his devastating assault on the tottering crusader states until his death in 1277, and his replacement as *bête noire* of the Christian states by Qalawun and others.

Occasionally events in the far West, apparently unconnected to the Latin East, are discussed (the career of Earl Simon de Montfort in England is an example). The author describes the political maneuverings which led to the fall of Tripoli in 1289 and then moves directly to the countdown to the fall of Acre in 1291. Nearly thirty sections are devoted to the destruction of the city; as we have noted, the author was present and active in its defense until just before it fell.

After the discussion of this shattering event and its fallout is concluded, the author breaks off his chronological narrative temporarily and turns aside to offer a slightly faulty account of the military obligations of the various elements of the kingdom of Jerusalem, apparently drawn from the works of John of Ibelin. Then, after a short description of a retaliatory raid conducted by King Henry II of Cyprus and of the assassination of Sultan Khalil al-Ashraf by his own emirs, the author stops entirely and inserts a long poem which he had composed after the fall of Acre, in part mourning the loss of the city, but primarily aimed at societal changes which he has observed and which he deplures. Sixty four-line stanzas describe a widespread deterioration in conduct and morals, in bitterly passionate terms.

Then the narrative resumes, first discussing events in the Spanish Reconquista, then turning yet again to the everlasting wars of the Genoese and Venetians. The conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip IV is noted and covered intermittently (though, as we have seen above, the author is somewhat misinformed about its course), and a short version of the troubled reign of King Hetoum II of Armenia is provided. At several points, the author notes the wars between England and France over Flanders in 1298 and thereafter (including the battle of Courtrai in 1302). Several failed attempts at joint Christian-Mongol campaigns are recounted, as are the large-scale raids carried out by the combined forces of the military orders and the kingdom of Cyprus after 1300. The capture – and then the fall – of the Isle of Ruad is covered, as is the Hospitaller seizure of Rhodes (in some detail). The author begins to relate the story of the usurpation of King Henry II's authority by his brother Amalric, though this story is unfortunately not complete at the time the manuscript breaks off (like most of the long-drawn-out events in the period, this story is told in pieces, interspersed with reports of other contemporary events). The author follows the steady decline of the Armenian kingdom, including the murder of King Hetoum and his young nephew Leon by Muslim Mongol troops in 1307 and the accession of Oshin to the Armenian throne.

¹ The lacuna is noted and discussed at §268.

Then the author turns West again, to discuss the trial and suppression of the Templars. His information does not seem entirely accurate, especially about the beginning of the scandal, but he does appear to have talked to eyewitnesses of the sensational scene in which the master of the order, James of Molay, and one other Templar officer withdrew their confessions and were summarily executed. This took place in 1314, a fact which, although frequently overlooked by commentators on the 'Templar', means that the work could not have been completed before that date at the earliest. The confusion arises from the fact that the author then returns to the East and begins to discuss the final acts in the contest between Henry II and his brother Amalric, and it is here, in 1309, that that manuscript breaks off – the final folios are missing.

The pivotal event in the chronicle is the fall of Acre. But if there is a single theme uniting the 'Templar of Tyre', perhaps it is, as Gilles Grivaud has suggested, the transformation of Syrio-Cypriot society from a chivalric, crusading society into a mercantile one – a transformation the author disapproves of very strongly.¹

Translator's notes

The text of the 'Templar of Tyre' poses the usual problems of translation from Old French: the use of sentences longer than modern English generally employs, liberal use of the phrase 'the said' to refer to people or places mentioned earlier (a habit tiresome to the modern eye), and a wide variance in spellings of proper names, to mention just a few. I have broken the sentences into smaller units as seemed appropriate, and have usually (but not always) either ignored 'the said' or replaced it with 'the', 'this' or 'the same'. I have omitted very many repetitions of the conjunction 'and', again for the sake of modern style.

On the matter of personal names, I have generally tried to anglicize Frankish names according to most recent practice, and to change names of people from the areas occupied by modern Italy into modern Italian names (sometimes relying on Laura Minervini's recent translation for guidance here). Arabic personal and place names posed a particular challenge. The author often used a mangled, francophone version of them, and even after the identities of individuals and places could be discerned, there was still the question of which modern transliteration system to use. Where possible, I have followed P. M. Holt's *Age of the Crusades*, and to a lesser extent Kenneth Setton's *History of the Crusades*. I have not, however, tried to impose complete consistency on the rendition of proper names (for example, I have used 'Mohammedan' and 'Mohammed' in the text, but 'Muslim' and 'Muhammad' in the footnotes, since to do otherwise would either alter the sense of

¹ Gilles Grivaud, 'Gérard de Monréal', in *History of Cyprus* [in Greek], vol. V, ed. Th. Papadopoulos, Nicosia, 1996, pp. 970–82.

the text on the one hand, or fail to take account of modern orthography on the other).

Some words I have simply left untranslated. These particularly include technical terms for matters military and nautical; the Glossary supplies definitions for these words, which have no precise modern equivalents. There was, for example, a wide variety of types of galleys in the Middle Ages, and it seemed better to leave their original names than to render them crudely as something like 'big warships' and 'little warships'.

Other words I have translated as seemed proper – for example, the author uses *messire* and *mon seignor* (or *monseignor*) in what appears to be no particular pattern. These I have usually rendered as 'the lord' or 'my lord', but sometimes 'Sir'. I have sometimes replaced pronouns with proper names, or vice versa, if such a substitution seemed to improve the intelligibility of a passage.

In general, the Roman numerals after the names of kings, popes, and other rulers are mine. The author supplies these only very rarely (and then he is sometimes wrong). Occasionally I have added other identifiers (for example, 'of Agen' after Bishop William's name in §355).

I have sometimes translated footnotes directly from the *RHC* edition, generally without attributing them (I have not, however, translated all or even the majority of those notes, which are extensive). Where regnal dates are supplied in the footnotes, they are usually drawn either from the *RHC* or from Setton's *History* for secular rulers, and from J. N. D. Kelly's *Oxford Dictionary of the Popes* for popes.

The language and vocabulary of the 'Templar' pose their own challenges. In style and vocabulary, the 'Templar' often resembles medieval romances more closely than it does medieval chronicles.¹ In addition, the vocabulary of the dialect of Old French used by the author includes many words borrowed (sometimes in mangled form) from Arabic and Turkish (and occasionally even more exotic languages), and other words and syntactic structures taken from Italian. With these I have done the best I could, aided by the scholarship of the editors of the *RHC*, Raynaud, Minervini, and a number of other authorities.

For the base text of the work, I relied primarily on the edition in the *RHC*, and secondarily on that of Raynaud. Laura Minervini's edition became available as this translation was nearing completion; it was used as much as time constraints permitted.

The section numbers present their own challenge. The sections (or paragraphs) are not numbered in the manuscript. Raynaud, the *RHC*, and Minervini all use their own systems: Raynaud and the *RHC* both began their numbering with the first section in the entire manuscript of the *Gestes*; Minervini, however, designates the first section of the 'Templar' as §1.² In the interests of clarity and continuity, I have followed the *RHC*'s system, noting where Raynaud diverges from it.

¹ I am grateful to Helen Nicholson for drawing this to my attention.

² See the first note to §685, below, for a more complete explanation of the problem.

Book Three

§§237–702 of the *Gestes des Chiprois*: the ‘Templar of Tyre’

237 Now that you have heard all about the schemes which were played out on this side of the sea in Syria and in Cyprus,¹ relating solely to the emperor² and the Cypriots, I want to tell you about a number of other things which occurred in Syria, in Cyprus, and in some places in the lands beyond the sea³ – things which are worthy of note.

238 While this war was going on between the Cypriots and the emperor’s men, as you have heard, the emperor heard that the Genoese had aided the Cypriots against his men with all their might. Moreover, they had themselves resisted him when he was in Acre, giving their support to the lord of Beirut.⁴ Because of this, the emperor bore great ill-will towards the Genoese and gave orders to all the places under his lordship that the Genoese were not to remain there, on pain of their heads, until he should tell them otherwise.⁵ He prohibited the exportation of wheat or any other kind of food from his lands into Genoa, under heavy penalty, and because of this wheat became so expensive in Genoa that a measure⁶ of wheat was valued at 100 *sous* of their money,⁷ for the city of Genoa was able to provide for all its needs except for wheat.

¹ As noted in the Introduction, these events constitute the middle section of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, which in turn is based on the memoirs of Philip of Novara and augmented by the author of the *Gestes* with material from the *Annales de Terre Sainte*.

² Frederick II of the western empire, who claimed the right to rule in the kingdom of Jerusalem and was resisted in this claim by the barons of Cyprus and the Holy Land, particularly by the house of Ibelin, lords of major portions of Cyprus and Latin Syria.

³ I.e., Western Europe. Lit.: *outremer*, ‘overseas’, which meant the Latin East to people in Western Europe, but which referred to western Europe itself to someone living in the Latin East.

⁴ John of Ibelin (d. 1236).

⁵ On this prohibition, which occurred in 1232, see Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, Chapel Hill & London, 1996, p. 121, and James Powell, ‘Genoese Policy and the Kingdom of Sicily, 1220–1240’, *Mediaeval Studies* 28 (1966), pp. 346–54.

⁶ Lit.: *a mina*.

⁷ The *sol* (plural *sous*) was not a coin but rather a money of account, notionally worth twelve silver pennies.

239 Meanwhile, Pope Celestine IV of Milan had commanded several prelates to come to him in Rome.¹ Because these prelates did not dare to go by way of imperial lands or through Pisa, they came to Genoa, where they equipped several galleys for the trip to Rome. When the emperor heard that these prelates would be crossing in the galleys from Genoa, he equipped forty galleys in Pisa, and they went after the Genoese galleys and their prelates. (The emperor did this out of ill-will towards the Genoese, and because of the conflict between him and the Church.) His forces took those Genoese galleys and damaged them and killed a number of people, and brought the prelates to Pisa, where some of them were scalped and others died in prison.

240 When the pope heard about this, he excommunicated the commune of Pisa, and it remained excommunicate for a long time thereafter. And because the Genoese had been injured, they armed galleys and other *leins*,² and set out against the Pisans and the men of the emperor, and harmed them a little.

241 Straightaway the emperor had sixty-five galleys armed in Sicily and in Apulia, and they came to Pisa. And the Pisans armed forty galleys (which made a total of 105 galleys). The Pisans' admiral was a Genoese named Ansaldo de Mari,³ who was the imperial admiral.

The emperor also raised a host⁴ of horsemen and footmen and sent them by land to Genoa. These two hosts came by land and by sea to besiege Genoa. Those on the emperor's galleys fired numerous missiles and quarrels with silver heads, and made a very noble showing. The other host came by land to a place called Levanto,⁵ very narrow and too rocky and uneven to allow horsemen. There are two towns on the slopes of the mountains; between these two towns is a very narrow valley, running to the sea, where a sandy beach meets the sea. In this place, the Genoese who lived there, along with others whom the Commune sent, mauled the emperor's troops very severely, killing many with long lances and with quarrels, and in this manner the emperor's men were crushed on the land.

242 On the same day, the Genoese came out by sea, with eighty heavily-armed galleys, to give battle to the imperial galleys. All the men got on board in person to defend their lands and their honour, and God aided them in their right and willed that the prelates should be avenged on them who [had taken their galleys, so that]⁶ the hundred [*sic*] galleys of the emperor were defeated outside the city of Genoa.

¹ Celestine IV was pope only briefly, from 25 October to 10 November 1241. The council was actually summoned by his predecessor, Gregory IX.

² See 'Lein' in the Glossary.

³ Ansaldo de Mari, or dei Mari, had succeeded Niccolò Spinola as imperial admiral.

⁴ A technical word for an expeditionary force; see 'host' in the Glossary.

⁵ Between Spezzia and Chiavari.

⁶ A lacuna, but the meaning seems clear.

The Genoese captured twenty-one galleys, eight of them galleys of the emperor and thirteen of them Pisan galleys.

This battle took place in that year in which the Cypriots took Tyre from the Lombards, which was in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1242, in the month of July.¹

243 This emperor, who was a most cruel and pitiless man at heart, was very opposed to Holy Church, and persecuted it. For this reason he met a bad end and came to naught, him and his heirs. Amongst the cruelties which he perpetrated is one that I will tell you about.

244 It happened that a number of his men, knights and burgesses and other people, misbehaved towards him according to the verdict of those who judged them. This misdeed caused him some harm (real or imagined). He had them seized, them and their wives and their children old and young (over the age of eight days), and put out the eyes of a number of them, and then had them burned in one place in one big group. There were about five hundred people altogether.

245 In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1243, Pope Celestine died, and Pope Innocent IV was made pope.² He had been born in Genoa, of a great family named *Dalsses*.³

This pope strongly urged the emperor to come to terms with Holy Church, and said he would receive him willingly, but the emperor would have none of it. So the pope deposed the emperor from the Empire, and assembled a host, and came against him and fought with him before the city of *Baline*. The emperor and his forces were so badly defeated here that he was never able to trouble Holy Church thereafter. He lived a short while after this, and then died six⁴ years after his defeat.

¹ Although historians used to believe that Tyre was taken by the Cypriots in 1243, in fact the 'Templar' appears to be right about the date. See Peter Edbury, *John of Ibelin and the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Woodbridge, 1997, p. 70.

² The author is mistaken. Celestine IV was Milanese and, as noted above, was pope from 24 October–10 November 1241. He died before having been consecrated or having performed any official acts. Innocent IV was elected after an eighteen-month vacancy, in June 1243, and died in December 1254.

³ *Dalsses* is clearly a corruption. Innocent IV came from a great Genoese family, the Fieschi, who were counts of Lavagna.

⁴ *Baline* appears to be another corrupt reading. This passage appears to relate to the emperor's defeat at Parma in 1248, two (and not six) years before his death in 1250.

For another Syrian view of the excommunication of Frederick, see *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: the Rothelin continuation of the History of William of Tyre*, trans. Janet Shirley, Aldershot & Brookfield, 1999, pp. 59–61. For a western view of the deposition of Frederick and its effect on him, and of the capture of Frederick's siege-town of Victoria (or Vittoria) outside Parma, see Salimbene de Adam (trans. Joseph Baird, Giuseppe Baglivi and J. R. Kane), *The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam*, Binghamton NY, 1986, pp. 167, 178, and

His son King Conrad, who was the son of the queen of Jerusalem,¹ survived him. This Conrad was married to the daughter of the duke of Austria,² who was one of Germany's great figures and was very rich. By this lady, his wife, this Conrad had a son named Conradin. You will hear him spoken of again in this book.

246 This Conrad of whom I have told you comported himself worse in his turn against Holy Church than his father the emperor had, and he died excommunicate, as had his father.³

247 The Emperor Frederick had another son called Manfred, who was born of adultery; I shall tell you how.

248 It happened that Emperor Frederick loved a gentlewoman of Lombardy, a marchioness⁴ – but as far as the emperor was concerned, she had no peer. By this woman he had his son, Manfred.

By and by the woman became ill and was near death. The Emperor had no wife, so he wished to marry her in order to legitimize Manfred, whom he loved. To this end he inquired of the doctors whether she would be able to recover from her illness. All the doctors assured him that she would not be able to recover in this world. On this assurance, the emperor married her – and as it pleased Our Lord, the woman recovered from her illness and lived for a time.

In this way Manfred was legitimized, so that when King Conrad died, this Manfred put himself forward, and took and seized the lordship and the goods of Emperor Frederick, his adulterous father, and said that he was legitimate and that he was the more rightful heir (since he was the son of the emperor) than the son of King Conrad, his brother.

249 At this, all the barons of the kingdom of Sicily and of the Principate and of Apulia accepted him as lord, and gave him the crown of the kingdom of Sicily, and he was its lord.

193–6 (*inter al.*). It must be noted that Salimbene is not the most objective of sources, however.

¹ Isabella II, sometimes known as Yolanda, daughter of John of Brienne and Maria 'La Marquise' of Montferrat, daughter of Isabella I and Conrad of Montferrat. Isabella II died giving birth to Conrad in 1228.

² Conrad's wife was the daughter of the Duke of Bavaria, not Austria.

³ Conrad died in 1254.

⁴ The mother of Manfred, King of Sicily, was a noblewoman named Blanche, of the family of the Marquis of Lancia and Loreto, in southern Lombardy. She was the daughter of Boniface, Count of Agliano (near Asti), one of the principal fiefs of Lancia. Even contemporaries were unsure of the exact degree of her relationship with the Marquis of Lancia, who had accompanied Emperor Frederick II to the East. They could not tell if she were his niece or his grand-daughter.

250 When the mother of Conradin, son of King Conrad, heard that Manfred was crowned and made lord, it truly seemed to her that he had disinherited her son Conradin, and she greatly feared that Manfred would try to poison her son by some means, to forestall his demanding his rights when he was of age. Because of this, the lady fed her son together with twelve other children his own age, dressed them all in the same colors, and showed equally great love to each of them. It was thus impossible for anyone else to have certain knowledge as to which of the children was her son. In this way the lady protected her own son.¹

251 This Manfred, who was made king as you have heard, married a lady who was the daughter of a great man of Greece named *Michalichie*.² He had children, both sons and daughters, by her.

I will tell you other matters relating to these events later, but now I will leave off talking about them and will turn instead to a different matter, so that I can relate things in a chronological fashion.

252 During the year 1244 of Christ, it happened in the kingdom of Jerusalem that a race of Saracens called the Khorezmians gave battle to the Christians in a place called Forbie.³ By the will of God, the Christians were badly defeated. Among the slain or captured were Brother Armand of Périgord, Master of the Temple;⁴ Brother William of Châteauneuf, Master of the Hospital⁵; Count Walter of Jaffa;⁶

¹ On Conradin's mother and childhood, see Sir Steven Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 101.

² After the death of his first wife Beatrice of Savoy, Manfred married Helena Angelina Comnena, daughter of Michael II Angelus Comnenus (Despot of Epirus or Arta 1236–1271) whom the author calls *Michalichie*. She ought not to be confused with another woman of the same name, daughter of John I of Neopatra, wife of William de la Roche of Athens 1275–1287, regent of Athens 1287–96, and second wife of Hugh of Brienne 1291–1296. See Jean Longnon, 'The Frankish States in Greece, 1204–1311', in *A History of the Crusades* [hereafter *HC*], vol. II, ed. Kenneth Setton, 2nd ed., Madison, Wisc., 1969, pp. 235–75.

³ La Forbie to modern scholars; now called Harbiyah. La Forbie was fought between the Egyptians and their Khorezmian allies, who had just taken and sacked Jerusalem from its nominal Christian dominion, and the Christians, who were relying on help from Muslim allies from Damascus, Homs and various Bedouins. The Muslims fled the field and left the Christians to be cut to pieces. See, *inter al.*, Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291*, Cambridge, 1992 (various references); and Peter Jackson, 'The Crusades of 1239–41 and their Aftermath', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987), pp. 32–60.

⁴ Missing and presumed dead; he may have died in captivity.

⁵ Later released; see §283, below.

⁶ Walter IV of Brienne, count of Jaffa, nephew of John of Brienne; he was captured and taken to Jaffa, where the Khorezmians tried to use him as a hostage to force the defenders to yield. The count shouted to the garrison to hold out, which they did; the Khorezmians went on without attacking, taking Count Walter off to prison where he died. See Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 563–4.

the archbishop of Tyre;¹ Ralph, Bishop of St. George;² the two sons of the lord of Botron; the marshal of the Temple, Brother Hugh of Montaigu; and many other barons and knights.

253 In this year Balian, new Lord of Beirut, was struck in the right arm by an Assassin as he passed the Exchange in Acre. The wound was from a dagger; it did not kill him, though it maimed him.

254 In the same year, Geoffrey of Sergines and the Templars made camp at Jaffa, and the truce between them and the sultan³ of Damascus, which gave the Christians Jerusalem and the lands on this side of the river except for Nablus and Jericho, was reconfirmed.⁴

255 In 1245, the aforementioned Pope Innocent IV called a council at Lyons,⁵ and through the council he had Frederick II deposed from the empire, for it had been said that the pope had deposed him earlier on his own initiative, just because the pope was Genoese. But the general council deposed him for his evil deeds.

256 This was the council that gave the cross to good King Louis IX of France, for the succour of the Holy Land; his brothers and other counts, barons and knights were given the cross with him.

257 In the year 1246 of the Incarnation of Christ, Queen Alice of Cyprus, the mother of King Henry I the Fat,⁶ passed from this present age. She left the entire kingdom of Cyprus to King Henry.⁷ The Lord of Beirut⁸ was *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and Philip of Montfort, Lord of Toron, had Tyre in his keeping.

Peter Edbury believes that Walter of Brienne was not, strictly speaking, 'count of Jaffa' (though he was count of Brienne), but that he merely acted as guardian of the county for his mother-in-law, Alice of Champagne. See Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, pp. 80–81.

¹ Peter II of Sergines, missing and presumed dead.

² Bishop of Lydda; some authors (including the author of the *Rothelin* continuation of William of Tyre) call him bishop of Ramla, perhaps because Ramla was nearby in the diocese and was a more important town.

³ Al-Salih Ismail. On this treaty, see *HC* II, p. 479.

⁴ For a short biography of Geoffrey of Sergines, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*, 2nd ed., London *et al.*, 1992, pp. 67–73.

⁵ The first ecumenical council of Lyons.

⁶ Cf. Sir George Hill, *History of Cyprus*, Cambridge, 1948, vol. II, p. 83, on Henry's physique.

⁷ Henry had inherited Cyprus from his father in 1218. In 1246 he would have acquired his mother's dower lands. One might argue that he then came fully into his inheritance, but more important, he followed her as regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Perhaps the author meant 'kingdom of Jerusalem' rather than 'of Cyprus'.

⁸ Balian of Ibelin (1236–47); considered Balian III by La Monte and others.

258 And in the year 1247 of Christ, the sultan¹ of Babylon took the city of Tiberias, and there he killed and captured a great many Christians.² Then he went on to besiege Ascalon by land and by sea, with twenty-one galleys and one *nef*. By the fortune of the weather, all of these ships were wrecked, but he took Ascalon anyway, which was a great loss for the Christians.

259 In the same year the Lord of Beirut, *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem, died. His brother John of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, was *bailli* after him.

260 In the same year Gilles, Lord of Sidon and son of Balian of Sidon, died and was survived by a son named Julian, who later sold Sidon to the Templars.³

261 And in 1248, on the twenty-seventh day of September, King Louis IX of France arrived at Limassol in Cyprus, bringing with him a vast fleet. In this fleet were fifteen Genoese galleys and four great *nefs* paid for by the king.⁴ The king of France brought with him his wife and his brothers Lord Charles, Count of Anjou, and Lord Alphonse, Count of Poitiers, and the count of Artois, their first cousin,⁵ and William, Count of Flanders. He brought so many other barons that I could not name them all; overall there were eight hundred knights.

262 King Henry I of Cyprus and the other Ibelin lords received him with exceeding great honour and joy, and he remained in Cyprus during that winter. The masters of the Temple and of the Hospital, and knights and other people, came from Acre to the host, and in Cyprus they took counsel and decreed that in the spring they would go to Egypt. When Easter came, the king sent the Queen of France to Acre, and from Acre she went to Château Pèlerin,⁶ which belongs to the Templars and is on the seacoast, seven leagues from Acre.

263 On the twentieth of May, 1249, the king of France left from Limassol in Cyprus. The Temple and the Hospital and the great knighthood of Cyprus and

¹ Al-Salih Ayyub.

² 'Babylon', here and elsewhere, is the term Frankish Christians used for Egypt (often specifically for Cairo).

³ Julian mortgaged both Sidon and Beaufort to the Templars in 1260 (Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 574).

⁴ For a survey of the two crusades of St. Louis, see Joseph Strayer, 'The Crusades of Louis IX', *HC* II, pp. 487–518, and Jean Richard (trans. J. Birrell), *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, Cambridge, 1992.

⁵ As the text stands, the author is mistaken: Robert, Count of Artois, was also a brother of St. Louis. There is probably a lacuna in the text which should perhaps be filled thus: '...and the count of Artois, and Lord Hugh IV, Duke of Burgundy, their cousin german...'. See *RHC*, p. 1037, note to p. 741.

⁶ Or Castle Pilgrim (now called Athlit). The use of the present tense in the following phrase raises the possibility that this portion of the text may have been written before 1291.

Syria came with him, and they were at sea fourteen days. They forced a landing, and on the sixth of June¹ they took the city of Damietta without striking a blow. Although the enemy had had warning of the coming of the king of France to this side of the sea, nevertheless they had no idea as to where he would strike, and for this reason they had taken few precautions and were caught by surprise. Thereupon our men set ladders to the walls and scaled them without opposition, because there were only ordinary people in Damietta and few, if any, defenders.

264 When this thing was thus carried off, the papal legate² and the patriarch of Jerusalem³ and the king of France and the other barons gave thanks to Our Lord for the great achievement which God had given them on their first undertaking, in that they had encountered no resistance in their seizure of the land. It seemed to be the will and work of God.

265 When the Saracens of Babylon and Alexandria heard that the Christians had taken Damietta, they were much dismayed and greatly frightened, and the sultan⁴ of Babylon assembled all the horsemen and footmen that he had, to defend himself against the Christians. And if God had permitted it, the king of France and his host would have taken all of Babylon and that entire land, but it was not God's will to grant anything more to the Christians, as you shall hear a little further on.

266 When the king of France entered Damietta, as I have told you, and found it defenseless, they discovered that the land was quite full of sufficient goods, and especially of food, whereupon the common people looted everything and took their ease for a while.

267 The king of France and the other barons took counsel together for a long time, deciding how they might go about taking the rest of the land, and so many words were spoken on the subject that I cannot recount them all. In the end, they concluded that they should raid out into the countryside and wear down the Saracens whenever they could. And they would have pulled it off, if God had allowed their plan to proceed.

But I shall leave off speaking of the king of France and his host and his fleet, which were at Damietta, and I shall tell you about a war which took place in Acre between the Pisans and the Genoese. Afterwards we may return to our matter.

*** **

¹ The text reads 'July', mistakenly.

² Eudes (or Odo) of Châteauroux, Cardinal-Bishop of Tusculum 1248–54.

³ Robert of Nantes, Patriarch of Jerusalem 1240–54.

⁴ Al-Salih Ayyub.

268¹ In order to confirm this compact in Venice, the Venetians sent a burgess of Acre named Sir Pietro Brice,² who returned to Acre from Venice. And Sir Lorenzo *Copa Copia*,³ captain of thirteen galleys, came; they bore on their galleys the banners both of Pisa and of Venice, and they bore them on their ships for a long time thereafter.

It happened that Prince Bohemond [VI of Antioch, Count of Tripoli], at the instigation of the Count of Jaffa, John of Ibelin, and of the Master of the Temple, Brother Thomas Bérard, sent for his sister Queen Plaisance – who was the widow of King Henry I the Fat, and who had a son called Hughet, the child of King Henry the Fat and heir to the regency of the kingdom of Jerusalem – to bring her to Acre to the aid of the Pisans and Venetians, against the Genoese.⁴

269 The war, and the preparations for the war, went forward with great vigor. At that time there was a Pisan consul at Acre called Sir Suger of *La Seete*.⁵ He was a most valiant man, very knowledgeable about war and very experienced, and he directed the strengthening of the Pisan tower. It happened one day that he was on the Pisan tower, and the count of Jaffa, whose name was John of Ibelin, was with him. The count was quite unarmoured.

¹ There is a considerable lacuna here, covering the period 1249–58. The story resumes here midway through an account of the War of San Sabas, which broke out in 1256 between the Venetians and the Genoese. For an allusion to an episode in the missing material, involving Bertrand of Jubail and the Seventh Crusade, see below, §292; 'Amadi' contains an account of the origins of the war, which may have been drawn from this missing section (p. 204). See also Minervini, p. 260, n. 32.1.

² The Brice (or Briccii or Brizi) family were Venetian burgesses residing in Acre. See Peter Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: sources in translation*, Scholar/Ashgate, 1996, p. 49, n. 82; David Jacoby, 'L'Expansion occidentale dans le Levant: les Vénitiens à Acre dans la seconde moitié du treizième siècle', in *Journal of Medieval History* 3 (1977), pp. 240–42; and Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford, 1980, p. 288.

³ The text reads 'Copa Copia' here and elsewhere, but this is almost certainly a mistake. Although there was a Venetian family of Copa Copia, the person indicated by the author of the *Gestes* as Sir Lorenzo Copa Copia is likely to be Lorenzo Tiepolo, who fought the Genoese at Acre in 1257 and was elected doge in 1268.

⁴ Bohemond VI was prince of Antioch 1252–68 and count of Tripoli 1252–75; Thomas Bérard was master of the Temple 1256–73; Henry I was king of Cyprus 1218–1253 or 1254 and regent of Jerusalem from 1246 until his death. Plaisance of Antioch was Henry's third wife from 1250 until his death, and was married to Balian of Ibelin, later lord of Arsuf, between 1254 and 1258. She was regent of Cyprus from 1253 or 1254 until her death in 1261 and regent of Jerusalem from 1258. 'Hughet' (King Hugh II) was king of Cyprus from 1253 or 1254 until 1267, when he died without having reached his majority. For arguments that Henry died in January 1254 and not 1253 as generally believed, see Peter Edbury, 'Redating the Death of King Henry I of Cyprus?', *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. Balard, Kedar, & Riley-Smith, Aldershot, 2001, pp. 339–348.

⁵ Possibly, but not necessarily, Sidon.

On the Genoese tower, which was nearby, there was at that moment an excellent crossbowman, crossbow in hand, and he was going to shoot the count of Jaffa. But one of the two Genoese consuls, named Ansaldo Ceba, happened to be there, and he prevented the sergeant from shooting, because the truce was still in effect. This good deed of the consul's was reported to the count, who gave him a fine reward after the war, for he made him a knight and gave him a lifetime fief at Jaffa of 500 bezants a year. But he got into a great deal of trouble with the commune of Genoa over this, for they thought that the count had done this because of some treason that he had committed against the commune. But when the truth came out, the Genoese apologized and praised what he had done, because he had acted in good faith. And then he returned to Genoa.

270 The Genoese had a custom of sending two consuls to Acre each year; at the time of this war they were Sir Leo Grimaldi and Sir Ansaldo Ceba, of whom I have spoken to you just now.

When the lords of Acre saw the scale of the preparations, they all, laymen and clerics alike, made a great effort,¹ and they assembled together in a great town house belonging to the Lord of Tyre, Lord Philip of Montfort. The Germans at Acre² sought to broker an agreement between them, and in the course of the various remarks Sir Lorenzo *Copa Copia*³ said to the Genoese consul that he would not depart from Acre until he could take one of the stones from the foundation of the Genoese tower to Venice. You must know that he did exactly as he said he would, as you shall hear.

On hearing this speech, Sir Leo Grimaldi, one of the Genoese consuls, put his hand to his sword and drew it and ran at Sir Lorenzo *Copa Copia*, and they came very near killing each other, but the lords of Acre and the Templars and Hospitallers separated them. And from that moment the war between them, which was most bloody, commenced. They shot at each other with all kinds of engines, great and small. There was one such engine which hurled a stone so large that it weighed 100 *rotas*,⁴ and each engine had its own name. The Genoese had two very big ones called *Boverel* and *Vinchequerre*, and another called *Peretin*, and the Venetians had a very big one which was called *Marquemose*, and they did a lot of harm to each other, and knocked down a number of houses. This war lasted, overall, fourteen months.

¹ To prevent the war, presumably.

² That is, the Teutonic Knights.

³ Or Tiepolo (?).

⁴ A Mediterranean weight of variable quantity. One hundred *rotas* may have equalled over 280 lbs. (c. 128 kg). The beginning letter of the ms. is obscured; perhaps the term relates to 'oka,' a weight still in use recently in Cyprus and equal to 2.8264 lbs. (c. 1.28 kg). See also Minervini, pp. 360–61, n. 34.6–7 and p. 42.

271 In the midst of all this, Prince Bohemond VI, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, had summoned his sister, Queen Plaisance of Cyprus, to Tripoli. She brought her son Hughet, rightful heir to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and this was on the advice of the count of Jaffa and of Brother Thomas Bérard, Master of the Temple. And the prince brought her and her son Hughet to Acre, where the queen, on the advice of her brother the prince, had all the men of the lordship move to the aid – and into the pay – of the Pisans and the Venetians, against the Genoese, strictly prohibiting them from taking pay with the Genoese. But there were some men who never at any time left the Genoese faction, men who were Syrians of the law of Greece, who belonged to the Confraternity of St. George and of Bethlehem.¹ The Hospital itself aided the Genoese with its power.² And the lord of Jubail³ came to Acre and brought 200 Christian archers to the aid of the Genoese, low-born men from the mountains of Jubail,⁴ who were all killed later on in this war.

272 It happened one day that the Genoese attacked by way of a street called the Street of the Queen (because a house belonging to Queen Alice was on that street), and they passed into another street called *La Carcaisserie*, where they were held up when the cry was raised there.

Upon this the prince of Antioch came there on an armoured horse, with armed knights accompanying him. Among these others was Sir Bertrand Embriaco of Jubail, the son of Lord Hugh. The prince commanded Sir Bertrand to take the lead⁵ against the Genoese, whereupon Sir Bertrand prayed him to be excused, for he had a treaty with them. But the prince made him go, willy-nilly.

When he had gone out towards them, he put the point of his lance behind his saddle,⁶ saying to the Genoese as he reached them, 'I am Bertrand of Jubail!'

¹ The Confraternity of St. George of Lydda and Bethlehem, a group of Eastern Christians associated with the Hospitallers. Jonathan Riley-Smith has suggested that it and at least two other similar confraternities, the Confraternity of St. James (associated with the Hospitallers) and the Confraternity of the Nestorians of Mosul (associated with the Templars), should be 'treated in the same way as the better known military orders rather than as burgess charities.' See 'A Note on Confraternities', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971), pp. 301–8, in which he also discusses several other crusade-related confraternities.

² A vague and controversial remark. It used to be thought that the Hospitallers and Templars had come to open warfare during the War of San Sabas. Helen Nicholson has argued that they did not: see Nicholson, 'Steamy Syrian Scandals: Matthew Paris on the Templars and Hospitallers', *Medieval History* 2:2 (1992), pp. 68–85.

³ Presumably Henry, Lord of Jubail 1241–c.1271.

⁴ Probably Maronite Christian archers. The word could be translated 'peasants' rather than 'low-born men'.

⁵ More precisely, if more colloquially: 'to take point', 'to lead the charge'.

⁶ That is, he reversed his lance so that the blunt end was aimed forward and the point to the rear. See below, §291.

Afterwards the prince was extremely displeased with him because of this, and he showed it quite clearly later on to the lord of Jubail, as you shall hear by and by.

273 This hatred which the prince bore towards the Genoese was not due to any misdeeds which had been done, but the prince and his father and his grandfather withheld the rights that the Genoese ought to have had at Tripoli, which they had obtained at the taking of the city of Tripoli when they had assisted Count Raymond of Toulouse, who had captured it. The Genoese had been there with their galleys, as is recounted in the *Livre dou Conquest*. Because of this, the prince feared lest the Genoese should come out on top in the war and would quickly engage him in dispute and quarrel, quickly and powerfully. For this reason he sought to do them harm.¹

274 From the time that the prince arrived in Acre as I have described to you, all the people were against them, and supplies could not get into their quarter except by way of the Hospital of St. John, which had two gates, one gate towards the *Seignorie*² and the other towards the Genoese quarter; the supplies which did get through to them came by way of the Hospital.

275 Sir Philip of Montfort, Lord of Tyre and Toron, aided the Genoese in every way he could, and sent both supplies and sergeants from his city of Tyre to Acre; these too reached them through the house of the Hospital of St. John.

276 There were in the Genoese quarter about eight hundred armed men from all nations, not counting women or children or servants or wounded, who suffered greatly.

277 The Venetians had twenty galleys, which had come out from Venice apart from the thirteen which had come earlier.

278 The prince, and his sister Queen Plaisance, and her son (the heir to Cyprus) left Acre and returned to Tripoli. From there the queen and her son went back to Cyprus.

279 When the year 1258 of Christ came, forty-eight Genoese galleys and four *nefs* arrived at Limassol to support their quarter and the Genoese of Acre; these galleys

¹ In other words, the counts had revoked privileges dating from the time of the conquest of Tripoli in the early twelfth century, and they feared that if the Genoese won, they would be able to pressure Bohemond into backing away from these revocations. See *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, 1097–1291*, ed. R. Röhrich, Innsbruck, 1893–1904, #55, for Count Bertrand's original award to the Genoese in 1109.

² Possibly the royal castle, shown on Marino Sanudo's map as the 'castellum' east of the Hospitaller compound. The text, which reads *seignor*, is unclear on this point.

and *nefs* then came to Tyre, and there they and the lord of Tyre arranged what to do next. Their captain and admiral was Rosso della Turca.

280 Meanwhile the lord of Tyre and the Genoese decided that the lord of Tyre should go to Acre with all the horsemen and footmen that he could gather up, and take a position in a place called *La Vigne-Neuve* and there rally the master of the Hospital and his forces to join him in his position. And when they saw that the Genoese galleys had won the upper hand, they were to enter Acre and seize the two quarters of the Pisans and of the Venetians.

And it happened as they had intended: the lord of Tyre came to Acre and took up his position, and the master of the Hospital came out to him there.

281 The Genoese galleys left Tyre and came up outside Acre. There were forty-eight galleys and four *nefs*, and each *nef* had a siege engine. If they had struck immediately, they would have had a complete victory, because the Venetian galleys, of which there were forty, were not yet assembled. The reason for this was that the Pisans and the Venetians were afraid to go out and abandon their quarter for fear that the Genoese on land would attack them, and that if they boarded their galleys and the Genoese who were at sea landed, they would lose everything. And they were in great fear and danger in this situation. They discussed the situation with the count of Jaffa, who advised them to go to the master of the Temple, Brother Thomas Bérard. The master of the Temple had gone to stay at the establishment of the Knights of St. Lazarus, in order to get away from the battle of the siege engines which were firing at each other, for the Templar establishment was very near the Pisan quarter.

282 The count of Jaffa and the Pisan consul and Venetian *bailli* talked to the master about their business, about the situation which you have heard described, and the master promised them that he would send them a sufficient number of brethren and other horsemen and footmen to guard their quarters and their houses while the battle was taking place at sea. And he did just as he had said. Immediately the brethren mounted armoured horses and, along with turcopoles and others, they came with banners flying to guard the Pisan and Venetian quarters. And in their coming, the Genoese on land thought that they had come against them, and they rushed out with a cry, and guarded their own quarter.

283 The lord of Tyre came overland from Tyre to Acre, bringing with him eighty horsemen and thirty archers (peasants from his surrounding lands). He set up camp at *La Vigne-Neuve*, near Acre, and the master of the Hospital, Brother William of Châteauneuf, came out to him from Acre and brought with him as many brethren and turcopoles as he could, and stayed there with the lord of Tyre, and waited to see whether the galleys would be able to achieve their goal.

284 When the Venetians and Pisans saw that their quarter was guarded [by the Templars], they had it proclaimed around the city that whoever would take service with them should board their galleys to serve as crew, and would earn ten saracenate bezants for the day and nine bezants for the night.¹ As a result, they had plenty of men, and they boarded their galleys (forty in number), and equipped other *barques*, *parescalmes* and *panfiles*² (of which there were more than seventy), each of which had crossbowmen on board who did the Genoese a great deal of damage and harm.

When the host of galleys and *barques* was all assembled, it went out against the galleys of the Genoese, and straightaway put all the Genoese to flight. Some galleys were watching the others who were fighting. Nineteen were captured, and one thousand seven hundred people were killed or captured. There were people standing by to remove their *lamieres*³ and their iron helmets. A few of them escaped and regrouped on the other galleys, who by rowing hard managed to escape and go to Tyre. Five other Genoese galleys fled, three to Haifa and two to the Templar's Château Pèlerin. The Venetians sent their galleys after these and seized them – that is, they seized the five galleys but not the crewmen. In this way they took a total of twenty-four of the Genoese galleys. And there were, counting dead and captured, seventeen hundred casualties, as I have told you, for when the Genoese took roll-call in Tyre, they found that many fewer men. As for the four Genoese *nefs*, when those on the *nefs* saw that their galleys were vanquished and defeated, they set sail and went to Tyre.⁴

285 When the lord of Tyre, who was at *La Vigne-Neuve* with his horsemen and footmen, as I have told you, and the master of the Hospital and certain of the brethren who were there with him (thinking that the Genoese should be able to win the day and achieve their aims), saw that the Genoese were defeated, they were greatly disappointed and angered. The lord of Tyre left and went back to Tyre in his own lands, and the master of the Hospital stayed there. He remained there until he took sick and died.⁵ The brethren of the Hospital elected another master, a wise *prud'homme* named Hugh Revel who had been grand commander.

In this manner, as you have heard, the galleys of the Genoese were defeated. This happened to them because they had recruited Lombards as soldiers, men who knew nothing of the sea. And they then lost galleys in other places, as you have heard, but then they defeated the Pisans and Venetians, as you shall learn in this book, as everyone knows.

¹ This was an enormous sum of money for the Venetians and Pisans to pay, though perhaps cheaper than losing to the Genoese.

² See the Glossary for a discussion of these and other technical terms.

³ Leather jerkins reinforced with iron strips.

⁴ See Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 146.

⁵ At some point after 24 June and before 9 October, 1258; see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, London, 1967, p. 186.

286 When the Genoese, who were holding their quarter and who had defended it for so long and suffered so much and endured such shortages that an egg could hardly be found for a wounded man to eat, saw that their galleys had been defeated, they abandoned their quarter and took refuge in the Hospital. Then they went to live in Tyre, and the Pisans and Venetians destroyed their quarter and their tower and all their houses, except for the church. And Sir Lorenzo *Copa Copia*¹ carried a stone from the foundation of the Genoese tower back to Venice. The Pisans and Venetians used the other stones to build walls around their own quarters.²

287 In this same year it happened, by the will of God, that John of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf and *bailli* of Acre, died.

288 The next summer after this event the Genoese armed twenty galleys and appointed two admirals; one of them was Benedetto Zaccaria, but the other I cannot name.³ These twenty galleys went to Tyre. The Venetians armed twenty-four galleys and went to Acre, and from Acre to Tyre. Then the twenty Genoese galleys came outside of Tyre and fought with the Venetians in this manner: Sir Benedetto Zaccaria attacked with ten galleys, but the other admiral turned away without striking a blow and went back in to port. So Sir Benedetto Zaccaria was taken prisoner and brought back to Venice, where he lay in prison for some time, and the Venetians made him swear never to go out against Venetian forces again, and made him suffer all kinds of unpleasant things in prison. In this manner the Genoese lost those ten galleys outside Tyre.

289 Now I will tell you of yet more misfortunes that befell the Genoese. The next summer following, they armed twenty-six galleys and sent them out with orders to do harm to the Venetians wherever they should find them. Their admiral was a man named *Borborin*,⁴ and he was from Trapani. He was so careless that one would almost say he had made an agreement with the Venetians for money,

¹ Or, Tiepolo.

² There is some controversy over this story. Hans Eberhard Mayer notes that two *pillars*, supposedly taken by the Venetians from a church of San (or St.) Sabas and re-erected in the Piazzetta of San Marco, are in fact probably loot from the Fourth Crusade (Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1988, pp. 274–5). The item in question here, however, is a *stone* from the Genoese quarter, not a pillar from San Sabas.

There is also confusion over the location of San Sabas. The war was not over a church of that name, but rather over property on the waterfront at Acre belonging to the Orthodox monastery of San Sabas in Judaea.

³ Probably Pasquetto or Pasquino Mallone or Mallon, who was later killed at Messina (see *RHC* p. 747, n. b). See below, §354.

⁴ Identity uncertain.

because he let the men on the galleys go on land by the gardens of Trapani, so that there were fewer than sixty men left on each galley. Then twenty-eight Venetian galleys appeared and trapped them in port and seized all twenty-six of the unmanned galleys – because, as you have heard, they were all on land – and those who were found on the galleys, seeing themselves too few in number, leaped off onto the land. Even their admiral, *Borborin*, and his son were caught on land and fled out of the town by land. In this manner those galleys were lost too.

290 Once more, the Genoese armed twenty-eight galleys and set over them four admirals, who had the following names: one was called Enrico Dugo, of the Spinola family; and another was called Udo Vento, and another was called Simone de Claritea. I cannot name the fourth for you.

These twenty-eight aforementioned galleys came to a place called *Settepons*,¹ and there they encountered the Venetians, who also had twenty-eight galleys. They fought together, and finally the Genoese were defeated. Thirteen galleys were lost, and fifteen escaped. A great many men were killed on both sides, including two of the four Genoese admirals, namely Sir Enrico Dugo and Sir Udo Vento. Simone de Claritea and the other admiral escaped.

After the Genoese had sustained this disaster, they left off arming war fleets for a long time, although they did arm a few *leins*, and these did do a great deal of damage to their enemies in various places.

You should not think that these two Genoese fleets² were made and lost in the same year; rather they were made in three years during three summers, during which time a great many things happened both in the West³ and in Syria, as I shall explain to you further on.

291 After the Genoese War was over, it happened that the prince of Antioch and count of Tripoli⁴ looked darkly and with ill-will on the lord of Jubail⁵ and Sir Bertrand of Jubail and their family. And the prince made no attempt to hide this, either by word or deed, so that the lord of Jubail and Sir Bertrand of Jubail and their family knew it very well, and could not pretend that they did not. The reason for this antipathy was, as I have told you, that the lord of Jubail had sent support to the Genoese in Acre in a *lein* called *Poindor*, a ship of 100 oars, and he had even been inside the Genoese quarter at Acre in person for some days – and for this

¹ The *RHC* suggests Negroponte, off the eastern coast of Greece; Antonio Morosini gives the location as *Settepozzi*, which his editors identify as the island of Spetzopoulo, near Spetsai (*The Morosini Codex*, ed. M. Ghezzi, J. Melville-Jones, and A. Rizzi, Vol. I, *Archivio del Litorale Adriatico* III, Padua, 1999, p. 59).

² Lit.: 'armies'.

³ Lit.: 'overseas', *outremer*. Note, as usual, the relative application of the word dependent on the user's perspective.

⁴ Bohemond VI.

⁵ Henry, Lord of Jubail 1241–c.1271.

reason too, that Sir Bertrand of Jubail had gone against the Genoese with the butt of his lance aimed forward and the point behind his saddle, as you have heard.¹

While the prince was in this state of mind, as I have told you, it happened that the knights of Tripoli quarreled with the prince over an issue relating to the Romans.²

292 It happened then³ that the lord of Jubail and the lord of Botron⁴ and other knights rebelled against the prince of Antioch, and departed from Tripoli; chief among them was Bertrand of Jubail. This was that Bertrand who spoke at Damietta before the king of France, for the honour of this prince, as I have told you.⁵ He was a knight of considered judgement, hardy and strong and with a keen memory.

Now he and the horsemen which he had through the support of the Hospital of St. John raided the countryside round about, and did a lot of harm to the land of the prince. This made the prince furious, but he did not have enough men to take the field against them. The Templars supported the prince, just as the Hospital supported those on the other side, though they did not show this publicly.⁶

293 It happened that one day this Sir Bertrand of Jubail came up outside the city of Tripoli, bringing with him a number of men on horse and on foot....⁷ ...on foot, because, as I have told you, the greater part of the knights were gone, being outside in revolt against him. But when the prince saw that he was besieged, he was filled with contemptuous anger, and he gathered together all the men he could and went out and fought with them.

¹ See above, §272.

² The knights of Syria were jealous of the pre-eminence taken by Romans in the principality of Antioch and Tripoli after Prince Bohemond V married Princess Lucy (or Lucianne), who was from the family of the counts of Segni, near Ferentino (and who was related to Innocent III). Lucy's brother was bishop of Tripoli; he promoted the interests of Italians, while the bishop of Tortosa backed native-born Franks. Even the Templars were embroiled in the controversy. See Jean Richard (trans. trans. J. Birrell), *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 461–2.

³ In 1258 or 1259. See Jean Richard, 'Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 130 (1972), p. 354, n. 3. Richard does not entirely agree with the author's account in §292.

⁴ William of Antioch.

⁵ But no such story is now contained in the text. Presumably it was recounted in one of the missing sections between §267 and §268.

⁶ This passage would seem to support Helen Nicholson's contention, noted above, that the Hospitallers and Templars did not actually go to war against each other, but rather contented themselves with expressing veiled opposition through local antagonists. See Nicholson, 'Steamy Syrian Scandals...', *Medieval History* 2:2 (1992), pp. 68–85.

⁷ Something is again missing. The *RHC* surmises that this is a homoeoteleuton, an error caused by the occurrence in two different places of the words *à pié*, and I have followed this suggestion in representing the omission.

In the end the prince was beaten, and turned to get back into Tripoli as best he could, but Bertrand saw him go, and raced after him and caught up with him at the gates of the city, and the point [of his lance] struck the prince in the shoulder, and he wounded the prince, crying: 'You villainous scoundrel, come back and do not flee!'

294 The prince went on into the city, and because of his wound he remained in bed for a long time. By the time he was on the mend, he had thought a great deal about how he could secretly arrange to put Bertrand to death by using the peasants of the villages. He did just this, and arranged it so that Bertrand's own peasants brought him his head, as I will tell you.

295 It happened that this Bertrand, accompanied by a young knight, went out to inspect one of his villages and its income. As he was on the way up to this village, and was on a hard slope with uncertain footing, he came to a low wall around a vineyard. From behind this wall some ten or twelve peasants with bows sprang out and shot arrows at him. At this he tried to turn towards them. In turning on the slippery slope, his horse fell on top of him in such a way that it was lying on his thigh, and he was unable to get to his feet. He had his naked sword in his hand, though he had no other weapon, and he defended himself so well that no one dared approach him. But they shot so many arrows into him that they killed him anyway, and cut off his head.

The other knight accompanying him was struck by a number of arrows, both him and his horse. He had set off to go, and had already come to the foot of the mountain – but the peasants ran after him and cut off his head too. Then the peasants carried the said Sir Bertrand's head to the prince in a wicker basket. The prince was delighted at this and paid them very well.

296 This news was reported to the rebel knights, who were very sorrowful. They were so disheartened that no one could comfort or reassure them. Sir Hugh of Jubail, Bertrand's father, rallied them and said that he would take his son's place for them, and urged them to continue the war and not to abandon the matter, for it would be worse for them if they did, and he presented many arguments. But they did not want to listen to him, and so made their peace with the prince and went back to Tripoli, all except for the lord of Jubail, who was trapped inside Jubail. The lord of Botron¹ went to Acre, where he was made constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, such as it was; Sir John of Jubail, brother of Sir Hugh, also went to Acre and was made marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and died in Acre some time later. Sir Hugh of Jubail, father of Bertrand, brought his son's children with

¹ William of Antioch.

him to Acre and lived in Acre, and he wore a beard for the rest of his life, in mourning for his son.¹

Now I will leave off telling you of these things, and will speak to you of another matter.

297 While all this had been going on, a great man of France called Sir Geoffrey of Sergines was made *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in Acre. This was after the death of Sir John of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, who had been *bailli*.²

298 This Lord Geoffrey was a very strong magistrate. In his time he hanged many thieves and murderers, nor would he ever spare anyone because of family or gifts which he might have given him, nor for friendship or any other thing. Among others, he hanged a knight called John Renier, who had killed a bishop of Famagusta; he took him by force, with men-at-arms, from the Pisan quarter where he taken refuge, and the Pisans gave him up.

And so I will leave off telling you about this, and tell you about another story.

299 In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1260, there was a very great lord named Hülegü who was chief over all the Tartars³ who were near our regions.⁴ He had three brothers – he was the fourth – and they were all sons of the Great Khan⁵ of the Tartars. When the Great Khan died, his four sons who survived him fought over the division of the lordship between them, and in the end they agreed to divide the goods and the people amongst themselves, and their inheritance was parcelled out by casting lots, for so great a people was not able to live together. It was divided into four parts: one towards the rising of the sun,⁶ one towards the setting,⁷ one beyond the mountains,⁸ and one a half a day's journey away.⁹ It so happened that Hülegü's part lay towards our territory. The other brothers had their parts, into which each went to live, and each brother conquered, in his own right, as much as he was able to conquer, and increased his own lordship.¹⁰

¹ On the lords of Jubail, see E. Rey, 'Les seigneurs de Giblet', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 3 (1895), pp. 398–422.

² John of Arsuf died in the latter part of 1258, and Geoffrey of Sergines was appointed in May 1259.

³ That is, the Mongols.

⁴ See also below, §§580–90.

⁵ The khan in question is Möngke, who died in 1259.

⁶ I.e., the East; Qubilai Khan's dominions in Mongolia and China.

⁷ I.e., the West; the Khanate of the Golden Horde, centred north of the Caspian Sea.

⁸ Evidently the Chaghadai Khanate of Central Asia.

⁹ The Ilkhanate of Persia.

¹⁰ The breakup of the Mongol Empire in about 1260 was an event of the utmost significance, but the genealogy was more complex than indicated here. See David Morgan, *The Mongols*,

300 This Hülegü of whom I have told you was a most valiant man, and much more enterprising than any of his brothers; he conquered more and did more great deeds than any of his brothers did. And so as chance would have it he had, in his part, the best men-at-arms who were left from the host of his father at the division when the brothers divided the wealth and men that their father had left.

301 This Hülegü conquered Baghdad and Tabriz¹ and Persia, as I will explain to you later on in this book, and then raided towards Syria and defeated and took Aleppo and Harim and Hamah and Homs,² and came to Damascus (a very great city, with a great population and many gardens) and took it. All these cities belonged to the Saracens, and he took them without their having made any attempt at defending themselves, because the Tartars had over 120,000 horsemen.

302 Hetoum I, King of Armenia, came to this most powerful lord; he came into his land before Hülegü set out, and became his man.³ He strongly suggested and counselled him to commit himself to come with a great host, as you shall hear, and the good king of Armenia did this and arranged it because of the evil of the Saracens and by the good offices of Prince Bohemond VI of Antioch, who was called the Fair Prince and was very much in favour with this great lord Hülegü, for the prince was the son-in-law of the king of Armenia.⁴

303 The king of Armenia and the prince of Antioch joined the Tartar host and were at the taking of Damascus. When Damascus fell, the prince – out of contempt for the Saracens, to shame them – had a most lovely church purified and censed. This church was from the time of the Greek Christians, from the time when Heraclius had had Damascus fortified; the Saracens had worshipped Muhammad in it, but it was originally the church of the Greeks.⁵ He had the Frankish mass⁶ sung within it, and had its bells rung.⁷ And in other Mohammedan mosques, where the Saracens worshipped, he had *roncins* and donkeys stabled, and splashed wine on

Cambridge, Mass., & Oxford, 1986, p. 117; and Peter Jackson, 'The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire', *Central Asiatic Journal* 22 (1978), pp. 186–244.

¹ A city in northwestern Iran.

² Also known as Hims; the Franks called it *La Chamele*, 'The She-Camel', and it is this more colourful term that the author actually uses throughout.

³ I.e., Hetoum accepted Hülegü's suzerainty.

⁴ Bohemond had married Hetoum's daughter Sibylla in 1254.

⁵ In other words, the prince restored to Christian use an ancient Byzantine church that had been turned into a mosque by the Muslims.

⁶ I.e., the Catholic mass, as opposed to Orthodox or Jacobite services.

⁷ Muslim law forbade Christians, who were given a second-class status as *dhimmis*, to ring their church bells or otherwise perform the rituals of their religion in a public way that would draw the attention of Muslims. See Bat Ye'or (trans. David Maisel et al.), *The Dhimmi*, London & Toronto, 1985, pp. 59–60.

the walls and smeared them with pork, both salt and fresh.¹ And where he commanded his men to commit one act of defilement, they did ten.²

After this Hülegü had taken the cities which I have listed, he turned and went back into his own country, and also gave excellent gifts to the prince and entertained him in friendship in his presence.

One great Tartar lord, named Kitbogha, remained in the lands of the kingdom of Jerusalem, with a great force of Tartars. He went to Sidon, and took it suddenly. He was resisted in his attack by the lord of Sidon, Sir Julian,³ who was on his horse at the entrance to the gate, defending the entrance so vigorously with the few men that he had that two horses were killed under him. He held the entrance so long that the common people had a great deal of time to retire together to a pair of castles, one inland and the other on the sea. And something else fortuitous helped the common folk: two galleys came from Tyre on their way to Armenia, commanded by Sir Franceschino Grimaldi, and passed Sidon that day, and gathered up a great many people and took them out to an island which is outside Sidon and very near the sea castle.

In the end the lord of Sidon was unable to hold off the attacks of the Tartars, of whom he had slain and killed many on the bridge before the gate, and he withdrew and went into the inland castle. The Tartars went on in and took the city and seized a number of common people, killing some and taking others prisoner, and they took over Sidon to such a degree that they knocked down the walls of the city and made to assault the inland castle, but that came to naught, so they left and went away. In that year, Julian sold Sidon to the Templars, because he did not have the resources to repair the walls which had been thrown down.⁴

¹ An act which, if it had actually occurred (see below), would have been calculated to annoy Muslims, who consider pigs unclean and generally forbid the drinking of alcohol.

² Modern scholarship generally rejects this entire episode as a later, fictional invention designed to contribute to a hoped-for early fourteenth-century alliance between the Mongols and the Franks. Contemporary Muslim writers, such as Ibn Abd al-Zahir, do not mention such an incident of defilement, and they certainly would have objected vociferously to such an act. See Peter Jackson, 'The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260', *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), pp. 481–513, esp. pp. 486–7.

It should be noted that Jaroslav Folda believes that there is iconographical evidence in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai for believing that the three Christian rulers at least cooperated in the capture of Damascus, and that Bohemond VI did in fact reclaim a formerly-Christian church (see Jaroslav Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, forthcoming).

³ Julian Grenier (d. 1275).

⁴ Julian has sometimes been condemned for provoking Kitbogha unnecessarily and complicating Mongol-Christian relations. However, Kitbogha was apparently in the area precisely to annoy and harass the Christians – see the testimony of the Muslim historians Ibn al-Amid and Ibn Wasil, as cited in Jackson, 'The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260', pp. 481–513. Jackson discusses the fall of Sidon on pp. 499–500.

The broader issue is whether or not the Latin Christians missed a vital opportunity to cooperate with the Mongols against the Muslims. Many historians, including René Grousset,

304 This Julian was a gallant knight, hardy and vigorous, quite reckless and lacking in good judgement,¹ with a big frame and limbs and large, well-built bones; he indulged the lusts of the flesh, and was an avid gambler, and beggared himself by playing. He was the son of the nephew of Lord Philip of Montfort, Lord of Tyre and of Toron,² and in his impudence he made war on his own uncle, and came up outside Tyre with knights and turcoples, and ravaged the land around the city, and then went back to Sidon.

But I shall leave off telling you of this affair, and speak of other things.

305 During this year it happened that the Temple and the Templar convent at Acre and at Safad and at Château Pèlerin and at Beaufort, along with Sir John of Ibelin,³ lord of Beirut and son of Balian of Ibelin (the lord of Beirut who took Tyre from the Lombards), John of Jubail, Marshal of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and many knights from Acre went out to destroy a great encampment of the Turks, near Tiberias.⁴ They were badly defeated, and among the captured were Sir John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, and John of Jubail, Marshal of the Kingdom, and the commander of the Temple, Brother Matthew Sauvage, and many other knights of Acre. Many sergeants, both horse and foot, were also killed or captured, and the Templars lost all their equipment. Brother Stephen of Saisy, the Templar marshal, escaped. It was said of him that he executed his attack on the Turks very poorly and turned back without striking a blow, either because his courage failed him, or else voluntarily, because (they said) he bore ill-will to the lord of Beirut, urged on by a mad jealousy over a woman of his country. Whatever the case, the master of the Temple ordered him back to the West⁵ and stripped him of his habit. He remained at the Roman curia until the time of Gregory of Piacenza⁶ (who had been

have believed that they did (see, for example, Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. III, Paris, 1934–36, pp. 525–30, 580–606, etc.). Other more recent historians have argued that the Latin Christians did not miss an opportunity, and that the Mongols represented a threat as serious, or more serious, to their survival than did the Muslims. These historians believe that writers after the fall of Acre in 1291 tried to portray previous Mongol-Christian relations as more friendly than they really had been, in order to promote an alliance between the two that would allow the recovery of the Holy Land. See Morgan, *The Mongols*, p. 155; Peter Jackson, *op. cit.*; and Jean Richard, 'The Mongols and the Franks', *Journal of Asian History* 3 (1969), pp. 51–2 and n. 30.

¹ Lit.: 'light-headed'.

² Philip was the uterine half-brother of Julian's father.

³ John II of Beirut (d. 1264).

⁴ On this incident, see Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: a history of the order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 158, and the testimony of Ibn al-Furat in Ayyubids, *Mamlukes and Crusaders: selections from the Tarikh al-duwal wa'l-muluk*, Ursula and Malcolm Lyons & Jonathan Riley-Smith, eds., vol. II, Cambridge, 1971, p. 195.

⁵ Lit.: *outremer*.

⁶ Gregory X (1271–74).

at Acre when he was elected pope). This Brother Stephen of Saisy came to find him at Acre and then, thanks to this pope, recovered the habit of the Order, and went overseas with the pope.

306 The lord of Beirut was captured by the Turks, as you have heard; so was Brother William of Beaujeu (who later on was Master of the Temple), and Theobald Gaudin (who later was the Templar commander of the Land for a long time¹), and another brother.

307 The ransom for the lord of Beirut and some of the others with him was discussed and was set at 20,000 saracenate bezants, and he and Sir John of Jubail, the marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and James Vidal and other knights, were freed. Brother William of Beaujeu was freed by his friends, along with one of his companions and Brother Theobald Gaudin and and thirteen other brethren; no more could be found alive.

Now I shall leave off speaking of this matter, of which there is no more to say, and tell you about the Saracens of Babylon.

308 When the Tartars had taken Aleppo and Harim and Hamah and Homs from the Saracens, and then Sidon from the Christians, as you have heard, the sultan of Babylon was greatly provoked.² He gathered together as many horsemen and footmen as he could find and went out from Babylon and came into the kingdom of Jerusalem. He sent messages to Acre requesting that the Christians allow him to pass through their lands so that he might go out against the Tartars. The Christians gave their consent willingly, because the Christians were furious with the Tartars over the damage that they had done at Sidon.

So the sultan came up outside Acre with all his host and camped on the plain very near the city of Acre, and they entered the city to refresh themselves. Among those who entered was a great emir named Baibars,³ who afterwards was the sultan and did an enormous amount of harm to the Christians, as you shall hear later on. Because so many Saracens came into the city, the people in Acre were afraid that they would be betrayed, and they drove them out both by force and by persuasion.

¹ I.e., Commander of the Land of Jerusalem.

² Al-Muzzafar Qutuz or Kutuz, deputy sultan of Egypt 1252–1259, sultan 1259–60.

³ Baibars (or Baybars) al-Bunduqdari an-Nasir Rukn-ad-Din. Here and throughout, the text reads *Bendocdar*, which is similar to the way the name is rendered in various other Frankish writings. James of Molay calls him *Bothendar*, for example, in his letter to Pope Clement V on a proposed crusade in about 1306 (in English in Paul Crawford, 'An Institution in Crisis: the military orders 1291–1310', unpub. PhD diss., Madison, Wisc., 1998, Appendix G, pp. 286–94).

309 The Christians negotiated an agreement that the Saracens would sell them any mounts¹ that they might take from the Tartars for a certain price which was agreed on between them. But as it turned out, once the Saracens had won they did no such thing.

310 This sultan received news through his spies that the Tartars were widely dispersed across the region. So he left the plain of Acre and went out against them, and he appointed this same emir Baibars as captain of the *izeq*, that is to say of the vanguard, of his host. Baibars had been his mamluk, bought with his own money,² and he carried the sultan's *arc de mot*.³ Because of this he was called *Bendocdar*, because amongst the Saracens an *arc de mot* is called a *Caus bondoc*.⁴

This Baibars was most hardy and valiant, and he went out first against the Tartars, and got the better of them, and mauled them badly and killed many. The Tartars rallied, but just then the sultan came up against them with his great army, and the battle between them was very fierce. The onslaught of the Saracens was so great that the Tartars were unable to withstand it, and they were put to flight, and their captain Kitbogha was killed in battle.⁵ Of those who fled the disaster, many were killed by the local peasants of the villages. Those who were able to rally themselves went to Armenia, where they found safety.

This battle took place on the third day of September in the said year, on the plains of Tiberias.⁶

311 After this battle, as you have heard, the sultan of Babylon prepared to go back to Egypt with great pomp and rejoicing. But this did not last long, for on the way back, the emir Baibars killed the sultan, with the approval of the other emirs (who were mostly in his confidence and of his faction). He and some of the emirs who were his associates immediately set off and went to Babylon, and entered the citadel of Cairo. There he found the person who commanded the citadel, called the Atabeg, who was named *Ferès Cataie*,⁷ a wise and very old pagan, and one who was wise in the ways of the world. This Baibars let him know how the sultan had died along the way, and that he knew of no one amongst the pagans who was wiser

¹ Lit.: 'horsey beasts', animals of an equine nature.

² In point of fact, Baibars had been a mamluk of the Ayyubid ruler of Egypt, al-Salih Ayyub, in the 1240s.

³ According to the *RHC*'s editors, this was a bow given by the sultan to an underling, to symbolize that that person was exercising the sultan's own authority and was enforcing an order given by the sultan himself.

⁴ The author is mistaken; this is a false etymology. Baibars was called *Bendocdar* or 'Bunduqdari' because his former owner was one al-Bunduqdar, and the slave was known by his master's name.

⁵ Kitbogha was captured and executed by the Muslims after the battle.

⁶ Historians know this battle as Ayn Jalut.

⁷ Faris al-Din Aktay al-Mustarib.

or more worthy than he, and that he should be invested with the office. And thereupon he drew his sword and wanted to place it in his hand, after the manner of one being invested with a lordship. But the Atabeg was wise and did not wish to take the sword, and said that the sultanate would be better given to him than to anybody else that he knew of in the world, because he had such great valour and potential. Baibars replied, 'Since it seems to you that I would be worthy to be sultan, and that you have made another sultan, called...[lacuna]...al-Malik al-Zahir',¹ which translated comes out as 'the visible king'² (the sultans had a custom of calling themselves by whatever name they wished, other than their proper name, as the popes do).

And thus he was made sultan, and had it proclaimed throughout the land. And all the Saracens of the host came thronging in, one emir after another, coming to the new sultan to swear fealty to him and do him reverence.

312 And in the year of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ 1261, Pope Alexander IV died and Pope Urban IV, who had been patriarch of Jerusalem, was elected after him.³ This pope revoked Pope Alexander's gift of St. Lazarus of Bethany and Mt. Tabor to the Hospital of St. John.⁴

313 And in the same year Queen Plaisance died. She had been the wife of Henry, King of Cyprus, and the mother of Hugh, heir to Cyprus. She passed away on the twenty-seventh day of September.

314 And also in this same year, Hugh of Lusignan⁵ was made *bailli* of the kingdom of Cyprus. He was the son of Henry, son of the prince,⁶ and Lady Isabella, sister of King Henry of Cyprus.

315 Also in the same year, on the twenty-fifth of July, the Greeks took Constantinople from the Latins, and Palaeologus made himself emperor, taking the name Constantine.⁷

¹ 'Malik al-Zahir', or *Melec el Vahar* as the text reads literally, refers not to the alternative candidate but to Baibars's own *laqab*: al-Zahir (see §316, below).

² 'Al-Malik al-Zahir' actually means 'fortunate king'. The latter part of the missing text probably read something like '...On becoming sultan, Baybars took the name al-Malik al-Zahir'.

³ Alexander IV died on May 25, 1261; Urban IV, who as James Pantaleon had been appointed papal legate and patriarch of Jerusalem in 1255 by Alexander IV, was elected August 29, 1261.

⁴ See Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 401–3.

⁵ Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan, afterwards King Hugh III of Cyprus (1267–84).

⁶ The author refers to Henry of Antioch, father of Hugh III. He was the fourth son of Bohemond IV, Prince of Antioch. The phrase, here and elsewhere, might alternatively be translated 'the son of Henry of the Principate'.

⁷ Michael VIII Palaeologus, co-emperor of Nicea 1258–61, Byzantine emperor 1261–82; not Constantine. See also Shirley, *Crusader Syria*, p. 143, where the same confusion of names is made, and where the date is given as 25 June.

316 And in the year of the Incarnation 1262, Baibars, sultan of Babylon, who had taken the name al-Malik al-Zahir, went to besiege Antioch. But the king of Armenia was visiting the Tartars, and he incited them to come to Antioch's aid, and the Saracens lifted the siege of Antioch and went back to Babylon.

317 And in the same year – the year 1262 of the Incarnation of Christ – Charles, count of Anjou and brother of the king of France, besieged Marseilles. Those within the city yielded to his might, and he became the city's lord, and set someone to do justice in the land on his behalf.

318 And in the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1263, Baibars, who was the new sultan, sent messengers to the Christians in Acre, saying that he wished to exchange the Christian slaves which he held for the Saracen slaves which the Christians held, at a rate of two Saracens for one Christian.

The Christians held a council about this matter, and it seemed to them a good and charitable arrangement. But the Templars and the Hospitallers would not agree to it, saying that their slaves brought them great profit, since they were all craftsmen, and that it would cost too much to hire on other craftsmen, and therefore they did not wish to agree to this. Although what they said was true, nonetheless they ought to have made the exchange, for the sake of God and the deliverance of the poor Christian slaves.

319 The count of Jaffa, John of Ibelin, did make an exchange of his slaves with the sultan, and the sultan made a truce with him and left his land in peace and quiet. But he was very angry with the other Christians on account of this, and he made this quite plain very soon after, for he arrived outside Acre on the thirteenth day of April in the same year.

320 On the fifteenth day of April he advanced up to the gates of Acre, so that the city was in great peril. Here the *bailli* of Acre, Sir Geoffrey of Sergines, was wounded by missiles,¹ as were several other knights and sergeants. Several were slain outright.

In the same year Isabella,² wife of Henry of the Principate and sister of King Henry I the Fat of Cyprus, came to Acre, and her husband requested the office of *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem and the homage of the men of the kingdom. They did not want to give it to him, because the rightful heir was not present. Nevertheless, they accepted him as *bailli*.

¹ Lit.: *pilès*.

² Isabella of Lusignan, daughter of Hugh I of Antioch, d. 1264.

That same year on the twenty-fifth of September William, legate, patriarch of Jerusalem and administrator of the bishopric of Acre, who had been bishop of Agen, came to Acre, and the legate Thomas of Lentino returned to Rome.¹

Now I will leave off speaking to you about these things, and tell you of another matter.

321 In the year of Christ 1264, the Genoese in Genoa armed twenty-one galleys, with crews drawn from the men of the city and from along the coast.² They appointed, as admiral and captain, a great man of Genoa named Sir Simone Grillo; he was wise and knowledgeable and very skillful in war. When this force left Genoa, it was said that those of the opposing faction, even though they too were Genoese, notified the Venetians in Venice about the galleys, and told them in what manner these Genoese galleys had gone out. So the Venetians promptly armed fifty galleys in order to go out after the Genoese galleys. But I will tell you the strategem that this Simone Grillo used on his voyage.

322 He left Genoa with his twenty-one galleys and came to Sicily, and spread it about that he was going to Tyre in Syria. Even some Genoese merchants were led to believe that he was going to Syria.³ Of what he really intended, he told no one. He left Sicily and came to the mouth of the gulf,⁴ and he told all the men on the *leins* that he found there that he was going to Tyre. Then when he had loudly announced everywhere that he was going to Tyre, he turned back and put in at the Isle of Malta, and left a hidden *lein*⁵ at the mouth of the Gulf of Venice⁶ to keep watch.

While he was at Malta the Venetians, who had armed fifty galleys as I have told you, sailed out of their gulf and found⁷ those *leins* which the Genoese galleys had encountered, and they told them that the Genoese had gone to Tyre. Upon this assurance, the Venetians in the galleys sent a *lein* to Venice, to tell the men of the merchant caravan that they ought to set out on their voyage, since it was certain that the Genoese galleys had gone on to Tyre, and that they were going after them.

¹ Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century were normally *legati nati*, but Urban IV, himself a former patriarch, decided to cut through the jurisdictional tangle caused by the patriarch having to reside in Acre, itself a suffragan see of Tyre, and suppressed the bishopric, making the patriarch its administrator. See Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the secular church*, London, 1980, pp. 270–71 *et passim*, for Thomas of Lentino and papal policy towards the church in the East at this time.

² Antonio Morosini gives the number of ships as twenty galleys and two large *nefs* (see the discussion of this entire episode in *The Morosini Codex*, pp. 58–61, though the dating seems rather confused).

³ A difficult and possibly corrupt passage.

⁴ I.e., at the south end of the Adriatic Sea.

⁵ Or, 'a light *lein*'.

⁶ Again, here and elsewhere, the Adriatic.

⁷ Following Minervini's reconstruction of a faulty passage.

Upon receiving this news, the merchants sent out their caravan from Venice, and began their voyage, and the fifty Venetians galleys went straight to Tyre.

But let me go back to speaking about Simone Grillo and the Genoese galleys at Malta. When the *lein* which he had left behind to keep watch saw the Venetians going out and leaving the gulf, it came to Malta and reported to Simone Grillo. At once he left the place and entered into the gulf of Venice, and one fine morning he came upon the Venetian merchant caravan,¹ which consisted of twenty-two *tarides* and a great *nef* called *Roccafortis*.²

As soon as the Venetians caught sight of the galleys, they realized that they had been tricked, and they all gathered onto the great *nef Roccafortis*, both themselves and their most valuable goods.³ At this, the Genoese seized all their *tarides* and looted them of anything which pleased them, and then set fire to all the *tarides*, and tried to push one of the blazing ships into the *nef Roccafortis*. But the wind was strong, and the *nef* set sail and went back in to Venice.

Simone Grillo returned to Genoa, and there, although he had done well, he was brought up on charges, because he had not gone to Syria as he had been commanded to do.

Now I will leave off speaking about Simone Grillo, and tell you about the fifty Venetian galleys who had gone out after Simone Grillo, as you have heard.

One fine morning, as day dawned, they came to Tyre and appeared suddenly before the city, and very nearly took it (if they had not been prevented) because most of the men in Tyre were still asleep. Nonetheless the men of Tyre came out and armed themselves.

The Genoese who were at Tyre had a consul named Sir Melian of Marino, who understood war and put up a very good defense. The Venetians took some of their largest *tarides*, and made a bridge out of the two pieces of the yard by binding them together, the one to the other. At the high point of the bridge they made a round fighting top covered with leather, like a ship's crow's-nest. They put a man inside, and slid the yards up high, and the galley then came up to the wall of the town in a place which is between the Tower of the Chain and the Tower of St. Catherine. They brought this fighting top construction with them, and the man inside was so high above the wall that he threw javelins and rocks on the men who

¹ John Pryor points out that the logistics as given seem impossible; the scout ship was left at the straits of Otranto, saw the Venetian caravan, sailed back to Malta several days away, and brought Grillo's ships back to the straits in time to catch the caravan still there (private communication to the translator). Antonio Morosini says that Grillo had intelligence from a Venetian scribe called Nicolò (*The Morosini Codex*, p. 61).

² This would appear to be the same ship later leased by St. Louis for the Seventh Crusade in 1268; see John Pryor, 'The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships: Part I', *Mariner's Mirror* 70 (1984), pp. 175–85 (reprinted in Pryor, *Commerce, Shipping and Naval Warfare in the Medieval Mediterranean*, London, 1987); and Carr Laughton, 'The *Roquefortis* of Venice', *Mariner's Mirror* 42 (1956), pp. 267–78.

³ Or, 'light merchandise'.

were on the wall, so that no one dared to be on the wall in that place. This put the defenders in great danger.

This Genoese consul, Sir Milian of Marino, happened to be at this same place. The man in the fighting top hurled a javelin at him and struck him in the head, and it split open his Pisan helm, and if he had not been wearing a padded coif, he would have been killed. Many people saw this blow.

At this the consul and the Genoese took masts from galleys and great ships, and fastened them on the wall, and made fighting tops like the leather-covered crow's-nest of a ship, and slid them onto their own masts. These were raised higher than the fighting tops of the Venetians, so that the Venetian men within them dared not show themselves either to strike or to shoot, and they left the wall and came back to their own galleys.

Seven other Venetians galleys came up from Acre, and so the lord of Tyre sent sergeants, Saracen archers and peasants from the countryside around Tyre,¹ and some men, his friends, even came from Acre to his aid, so that the Venetians left and went to Acre. There they heard the truth about how the Genoese galleys under Simone Grillo had taken the Venetian merchant caravan inside the gulf.

323 In the same year Pope Urban IV died, and Master Guy was made pope, he who had been bishop² of Sabina and archbishop of Narbonne. He took the name Clement IV.

324 And in this year of Christ 1264, John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, died, and left behind two daughters, and Hugh, heir to Caesarea, died at Acre.

325 And in this year, the king of Castile fought with the Saracens of Grenada between Cordoba and Seville, and killed 4,000 Saracen horsemen, not counting footmen, who were numerous.³

326 And in the same year, Sir Oliver of Termes died in the Holy Land at Acre. He was a great man from Spain, valiant and skilled in arms.⁴

¹ Possibly the author means that the sergeants were Muslim archers recruited from the local peasants, that is, the Muslim population of the hinterland of Tyre.

² Actually cardinal-bishop.

³ Alfonso X 'the Wise', King of Castile and Leon 1252–84. The author may be referring to Alfonso's suppression of a Muslim rebellion in 1264–6 (see C. J. Bishko, 'The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest, 1095–1492', in *HC* III, p. 434).

⁴ This entry is misplaced. Oliver, who had fought on the losing side of the Albigensian Crusade, arrived in the East in 1265 and participated in the Seventh Crusade (see Joinville in *Joinville & Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, trans. M. R. B. Shaw, Penguin, 1963, pp. 309–10). He served as commander of the garrison or 'regiment' which the French kings maintained after 1254 at Acre, and died in 1275. The author discusses Oliver's participation in an action which happened in 1268 or 1269 below (§351). Benjamin Kedar, in a brief biographical sketch of Oliver, gives his death date as 12 August 1274, recognizing

327 In this year the pope made Charles, the count of Anjou and Provence and brother of King Louis IX of France, a senator of the Church.¹

328 In the year 1265, the sultan of Babylon, Baibars, who had taken the name al-Malik al-Zahir,² came from Babylon and took Caesarea and *Surie*³ on the seventh day of March, and then besieged the castle of Arsuf, which belonged to the Hospital of St. John by right of purchase, because they had bought it from its former owner Sir Balian of Ibelin. This castle was very well provided with troops and other things, but the sultan took it by force with siege engines and mines. The siege lasted from the fifteenth of March to the last day of April, when he took the city. More than a thousand religious and secular knights and armed sergeants were taken prisoner inside it. And a clear sign was seen in Acre, like a sword the length of a lance and the breadth of a palm, which came from the East and seemed to strike the tower of the Church of the Holy Cross in Acre.⁴ Sir Hugh of Lusignan, who was *bailli* of Cyprus, came to the aid of Acre, bringing a fine fleet of galleys and other vessels, and 130 knights and sergeants, and many mounted *valés*.

But now I will leave off speaking to you about this, and tell you about something that happened across the sea.

that Sanudo dates it to 1275 instead. See Kedar, 'The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: towards the history of the popular element on the Seventh Crusade', *Studi medievali* 13 (1972), pp. 267–79; Oliver is discussed on pp. 276–78; see also C. J. Marshall, 'The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–91', *Journal of Medieval History* 15 (1989), pp. 301–7.

¹ The pope actually made Charles a senator of Rome, on 12 September 1268. See Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, p. 135.

² In full: al-Malik al-Zahir Rukn al-Din Baybars al-Bunduqdari al-Salihi.

³ The text reads 'Surie' (i.e., Syria); perhaps the town of Arsuf, as distinct from the castle of 'Arsur' (i.e., Arsuf) is intended here.

⁴ It is difficult to say what this might have been, though it would appear to refer to a comet. Gary Kronk, *Cometography: a catalog of comets*, Cambridge, 1999, lists a comet discovered in July 1264 which persisted until October 1264 (pp. 218–22). He notes that the English *Chronicon* of 1289, the Austrian *Continuatio Mellicenses* of 1564 and the Russian *Nikonian Chronicle* of 1520 all say that a comet appeared in 1265, but he interprets these as being references to the comet of 1264 (p. 219–20). The Egyptian or Syrian *Dhayl mira'at al-zaman* of the fourteenth century discusses a 'star with locks of hair' in 1265, though this appeared in July, not spring-time, and this too Kronk considers to be a reference to the 1264 comet. He lists another comet, observed only by Japanese sources according to him, which appeared in January 1266 and was last seen in February or early March of that year (pp. 222–3). There has apparently been considerable astronomical debate over the comets of the mid-1260s.

329 In this same year 1265, it happened that a great man named Simon de Montfort, who was in England and who had the king of England's sister as wife (by whom he had several children), and who was earl of Gloucester,¹ had a great war with the king of England, as I shall now describe for you.

330 As it happened, this king of England had nothing that he did not give away. Often there came to him foreign people from various provinces, whom he received and favoured in all things. Even though he could do all this as lord, all the same most of the knights of England were greatly angered. They discussed it amongst themselves, and in the end they came to the king and told him politely that he should no longer welcome foreign people into the land.

Because they had made their request in such a friendly manner and had shown him by many arguments that this was both to his advantage and to that of the land, the king agreed to their petitions and promised, in the presence of them all, that he would no longer give fiefs or land to anyone in the world except with the agreement of his men. He sent for Earl Simon de Montfort and wanted him to be head of his men in this affair. But Simon made many excuses; he did not want this role, and greatly discouraged the king until the king forced him to agree to it and swear on the gospels. Earl Simon then said that he would uphold his oath well since the king had made him swear, for he could not go against his oath.

Matters stood thus for a long time. By and by, the king failed to keep his promises to his men, whereupon the knights asked Earl Simon de Montfort to be their leader in this crisis, in accordance with the oath that he had made. In order to be true to his oath, Earl Simon went to the aid of the knights of England.

When the king of England got wind of this, he took counsel together with his brother Earl Richard (who was called king of Germany), and his own son who was named Edward (who was by now grown up and was a fine big knight), to seize the earl of Montfort and some other earls and *vavassors*,² and then someone else would come to leadership. But before they could put their scheme into operation, Earl Simon de Montfort and the others departed and left the city where the king was, and raised a host against him.

On seeing them coming against him, the king went out to meet them with such few men as he could muster. But there were a great many more men on the earl's side, and the battle did not last very long. In the end the king and his supporters were defeated, and there were many dead on both sides. The king was taken prisoner and so was his son, the Lord Edward,³ and the king's brother, Richard (called the king of Germany),⁴ and some other knights. Many escaped the battle, and they held and maintained the king's castles and fortresses.

¹ He was actually earl of Leicester.

² Can mean lesser vassals, though here it probably means 'other important vassals'.

³ The future King Edward I of England (r. 1272–1307).

⁴ Son of King John, earl of Cornwall, elected king of the Romans 1257, d. 1272.

331 So the king of England and his son, the Lord Edward, were in the prison of Earl Simon de Montfort of Gloucester,¹ and because they were very closely related to the Countess, Earl Simon's wife, they were in a spacious prison and were not held under harsh conditions. The Lord Edward, who was a young knight, went out riding every day with the earl. And when the Lord Edward saw that the earl trusted him, he arranged to obtain a strong, speedy and robust horse, and he who got it presented it to him. Once he had possession of this horse and had ridden it and had proven its worth, he ordered his men – the knights of his party – to come to a particular place near the castle where he was, and when they got there, to tell him immediately and to remain there all night. They did just as he had instructed; there were 300 knights, armed and well-mounted on their horses, though without any other retinue. They spent the night in that place, promptly letting the Lord Edward know that they were there, by means of a servant and by pre-arranged signals.

332 When it was dawn Earl Simon de Montfort rode out as usual, and the Lord Edward, mounted on this horse of his, was with him. He started galloping off to the right and to the left, all the time getting further away from the road taken by the earl. When he was a good distance away he set off at speed, saying: 'Farewell, Earl of Montfort!' And he went towards the place where the knights were lying in wait. They immediately sallied forth and received him. The earl and his men went after him but could not catch up with him and, when they saw the knights issue from their ambushade, they turned back. The knights took the Lord Edward away, and so he was freed, as you have heard.

333 The Lord Edward assembled as many men, both horse and foot, as he could and went against Simon de Montfort. When he was near, he sent a few men on horseback ahead, carrying banners with the de Montfort arms.

334 Earl Simon had told his two sons, who were in another castle, how the Lord Edward had escaped from his prison and how he was assembling many men to come against him, and he ordered them to come to his aid. Because of this, when Earl Simon saw the approach of the Lord Edward's men bearing the de Montfort banners, he went out to meet them. Although he and his men went out armed, they were in no sort of order, for they had taken no precaution against this ruse. If he had gone out in military formation it would not have gone so ill for him, for he was a worthy knight, bold and courageous. But it so happened that when he was outside with only part of his forces, he found himself deceived, as you have heard. For the Lord Edward's men who were leading the way threw the de Montfort banners on the ground and, raising the arms of the Lord Edward, attacked Earl Simon de Montfort and his men. So battle was joined, and the Lord Edward came up after

¹ Again, earl of Leicester.

and rushed into the fray. The battle was very bitter and many men were killed on each side. In the end Earl Simon de Montfort was defeated, both he and his men, and the earl was taken alive.

Once he had come from the battle, the Lord Edward sought counsel from his cousin, who was named Henry of Almain and who was also cousin to Earl Simon's children, the children of two sisters,¹ as to what he should do with Earl Simon. The Lord Henry advised him that if he wanted peace and an end to the war, he should cut off Earl Simon's head and have it said that he was killed in the battle since one would not want to bear the infamy of having killed him after he had been captured. So that night my lord Edward, on the advice of my lord Henry of Almain, had Earl Simon de Montfort's head cut off and had him thrown on the field among the other dead bodies. You should know that in the battle many knights and other men of whom some were earls and barons were killed. The land was greatly weakened in consequence.²

335 After this mortal battle all those belonging to Earl Simon de Montfort's party were very downcast and bereft of further hope. They freed the king of England, his brother the king of Germany, and the others who were in prison.

336 When the king was in Salisbury, he seized his adversaries. Some he killed. Many other he held in prison where they died of hunger, disease or harsh conditions.

337 Now I shall tell you what happened after this war. That great man, the Lord Henry of Almain, came to a town named Viterbo on his way to Rome to be made emperor of Germany. There, in a church in Viterbo, he was hearing mass. Guy de Montfort, the son of Earl Simon de Montfort of whom I have told you, came to Viterbo and entered the chapel and pierced Henry of Almain right through his body with a *bordon*, in revenge because Henry had counselled his father's execution, as you have heard. Then he left and went to Tuscany.

338 This Guy de Montfort had as wife the daughter of Count Rosso of Tuscany,³ and he had brought with him fifty of his lord's knights and other horsemen to do this deed. The pope excommunicated him for a while, but then he was absolved. You should know that this Henry of Almain was his first cousin – they were the

¹ Henry of Almain was the son of Earl Richard of Cornwall, the brother of King Henry III. His cousins were the children of Simon and his wife Eleanor, Henry and Richard's sister.

² This is not the generally accepted version of Earl Simon's death or of the battle of Evesham. For the battle of Evesham and the Earl's death, see J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 331–45; see also Peter Edbury, 'The De Montforts in the Latin East', in *Thirteenth Century England*, vol. VIII (Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1999), ed. Michael Prestwich *et al.*, Woodbridge, 2001, pp. 23–31.

³ Rosso Aldobrandini.

children of two sisters as I have told you before.¹ But now I shall stop telling you about this and tell you about another event.

339 It happened in the said year of 1265 of the Incarnation of Christ that a holy man from the ranks of the great barons of France, the count of Nevers, came to the Holy Land, in Syria, to the service of God.² With him came the count of Nanteuil and Sir Alart of Valery³ and sixty French knights. It was the will of Our Lord that this *prud'homme*, the count of Nevers, should die at Acre. In his will he stipulated that everything that was found to belong to him, whether money or equipment, should all be given to the poor, for the sake of God. Know that Our Lord worked miracles for him, for any sick persons who touched his bequests were immediately healed of their ailments.

Now I will leave off speaking to you of this, and tell you about another great event which happened in this year of 1265 of Christ.

340 Charles, Count of Anjou and of Provence, brother of King Louis IX of France (who had taken Damietta), came to Rome, bringing with him a thousand French knights, and he was given the crown of the kingdom of Sicily by the command of Pope Clement IV. Following this, he went after Manfred, who was the count of Sicily, of whom I have previously told you; he was the son of the Emperor Frederick II, born before the marriage of his father and his mother (which occurred when she was at death's door, in order to legitimize him).

341 When Manfred heard that Charles had been crowned over his kingdom and was coming against him, he acquired enough men, either by money or through friendship, to assemble a large host of horse and foot. In particular, the Saracens of Lucera rallied to him.⁴ He relied entirely on his force and had no wish to reconcile himself to the Church, with the result that he went into battle excommunicate, as a rebel against the Church.

You should know that people who practiced divination, to whom he had recourse, told him that they found, in their oracles and divinations, that he should

¹ Again: they were not.

² Eudes, heir to the duchy of Burgundy and count of Nevers by marriage; died in Acre in August 1266.

³ Or Énard de Valerie. See §359 below.

⁴ Frederick II had deported a large number of rebellious Muslims from Sicily to the Apulian town of Lucera in the 1220s, and had established it as a Muslim colony, driving out the Christian bishop in the process. Drawing on the precedent of Muslim treatment of conquered Christians (the *dhimma*), Frederick imposed a poll tax on the Muslims there; he did not, however, interfere with the practice of their religion or put pressure on them to convert. Lucera's Muslim population, which may have numbered as much as 15–20,000, supported the Hohenstaufen cause from this time on. The Saracen colony in Lucera came to an end in 1300 (David Abulafia, *Frederick II: a medieval emperor*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 146–8, 410–12, and 449).

die in battle on a field of flowers. Because of this fear he avoided encountering King Charles whenever he could, and because of this he avoided him until he no longer could do so. King Charles entered into his lands, and Manfred moved off some distance ahead of him. As it happened, King Charles took a different turn on the spur of the moment, and moved against Manfred by another way. Manfred knew nothing of this move, and went on all day long, thinking that King Charles was behind him.

But in the morning, at daybreak, the two hosts encountered each other, and when Manfred saw this, he did not want to withdraw lest his people would be caught on the road. So Manfred, stopping there, inquired as to the name of the place. They told him it was St. Germain l'Aguillier,¹ and that the field where his host was, was called the Field of Flowers. Manfred was greatly dismayed at hearing this, and was afraid of the prophecy. Nonetheless, he plucked up his courage and prepared for battle.

King Charles had his men arm and fall out into *battles*, and he had Mass sung in honour of God, and then moved out into battle against Manfred. Manfred was coming excommunicate to the battle, which is a very perilous thing to do, and on account of this his efforts failed.

King Charles had a thousand elite, well-disciplined French knights, and he had mounted sergeants and squires and his household troops and other auxiliary troops numbering at least a thousand, and a great quantity of foot-sergeants. Manfred had all his forces there, five thousand horsemen or more and a great quantity of footmen, so that the battle began on very equal terms, and there were blows traded and hand-to-hand combat on all sides. It was impossible to tell, there, who was having the better of it.

Then it happened that Manfred was holding a position on the side of a hillock, with forty knights around him. By chance a quarrel from a crossbow struck the hand of the man who was holding Manfred's banner in front of him, and the bolt pierced his hand and the banner fell to the ground. It appeared to the French knights that it had been struck down by their men, and they cried out loudly, 'Onward! Onward! The day is ours!' And King Charles and the better part of his host rushed towards the place, so that Manfred's host was unable to withstand them, and was thrown into a disarray from which they were unable to recover.

342 In this battle many men were slain (around a thousand horsemen and footmen), and King Manfred was found dead. So all the men of Sicily and the Principate and Apulia and Calabria surrendered to King Charles.²

¹ San Germano, at the foot of Monte Cassino.

² The battle of Benevento, as it is now known, took place on 3 February 1266 (the author appears to be using old-style dating in placing it in 1265).

343 King Charles captured the wife of King Manfred and his sons and his unmarried daughter and kept them in prison in a castle.

344 This Manfred had had another daughter called Constance, who was married to King Peter of Aragon.¹ They had an eldest son called James, who was king of Aragon later on,² and another called Frederic, of whom I shall speak to you later on, when the time comes.³

345 By the year of Christ 1266, Baibars was sultan not only of Babylon but also of all the Saracens, for in his time there was no sultan but him in any land of the Saracens, and all *paynimie*⁴ was under his lordship.

346 The sultan came up outside Acre and stayed there for eight days in June, and then went on to Safad (Safad was a Templar castle, very fine and strong, situated in the mountains a day's journey away from Acre).⁵ He sent the men in the castle a gift, after the custom of the Saracens, but the men in the castle used mangonels to hurl the gifts back. This made the sultan very angry, and he swore by Mohammed that he would put them all to the sword. At once he prepared his siege engines and they attacked the castle. He made a number of assaults up through the twenty-second of July, when he took it.⁶ I will tell you the way in which he took it.

347 When the sultan's men took the barbican of the castle, they suffered heavy casualties, because those within had good soldiers, brethren and sergeants. The sultan feared that he would be unable to take it by force without losing [too many of] his men. He called off the assault, and had public criers make a proclamation that all the Syrians (the sergeants and the archers) might come out of the castle on his safe-conduct. He did this in order to sow discord between the Franks and the Syrians, so that the Franks would accuse the Syrians of being traitors and there would be conflict between them.

Then the sultan attacked them strongly. Those inside the castle had lost the barbican and were badly weakened; they were in considerable disunity amongst themselves, and could receive no aid from anywhere because the castle was surrounded by Saracens on all sides. So they called out to the Saracens to break off combat, because they wished to send them a messenger. This was reported to the

¹ Peter III (1276–85).

² King James II of Aragon, 1285–1327.

³ Frederic II of Aragon, King of Sicily 1296–1337. See §§575–76 below.

⁴ Refers to that part of the world that is not Christendom; the author is rather exaggerating.

⁵ For the construction of Safad, or Saphet as it is sometimes spelled, see 'De constructione castri Saphet', translated in Hugh Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 190–98.

⁶ See Ibn al-Furat in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. II, pp. 214–15, for a discussion of the date.

sultan, who suspended the attack. Those in the castle held a council and decided to send a Templar sergeant-brother to the sultan, a man whose name was Brother Leo, casalier of the Safad estates,¹ who was very fluent in the Saracen language. They charged him with demanding the same safe-conduct for the Franks as the sultan had offered to the Syrians through the proclamation which he had had announced.

This Leo went out and came to the sultan, and gave him the message, and the sultan made him as good a reply as he might in public. But afterwards he spoke alone with this Brother Leo, and told him that he was furious with the men in the castle who had hurled back his gift, and killed a great many of his men, and that he wanted to put them all to death. To this end, he intended to offer the safe-conduct by the hand of an emir who resembled him, and then have them all put to the sword. If Leo wished to work to facilitate this deed, the sultan would give him all kinds of things, but if not, when he took the castle, he would have him put to a particularly cruel death.

When Brother Leo heard the sultan, he was so frightened that he consented to do as he wished. He returned to the castle and told them that the sultan had authorized a safe-conduct for everyone, and that the sultan himself would swear to them in their sight. There was great joy amongst those in the castle at this.

When the next morning arrived, the sultan sent that emir who resembled him and had him go before the castle, with all the honours appropriate to his own person, and when those in the castle saw him, they thought that he was the sultan, and felt greatly reassured. But they were betrayed and deceived.

This emir swore to conduct them in good faith to Acre, safe and secure, and so they came out of the castle with all their equipment loaded onto mules, ready to go at once to Acre, for there is no road from Safad to Acre that is less than a day's journey. The sultan had told them that they should rest that night, and that in the morning he would have them taken to Acre. They were obliged to do this.

In the morning he had them all seized and conducted some distance from Safad, to a small hillock about half a league away, and there he put them to death, beheaded. Then he had a circular wall erected around them, and their bones and their heads may still be seen. They say, and it is a certain thing, that light from heaven has shone on their bodies many times, and Christians and some Saracens have seen it. There were two Franciscans with them, who kept them firm in the faith by preaching to them, which was greatly to the benefit of their souls.

And as for Brother Leo the Casalier, who had committed this treason for fear of death, he apostasized and became a Saracen.²

¹ A casalier was in charge of the administration of the estates attached to the castle. This office differs from that of castellan, though the two are sometimes confused.

² This episode assumed a certain importance during the trial of the Templars, 1307–12. Several of the defenders of the Order referred to it, pleading that the willingness of the Templars to die here (and elsewhere) proved their devotion to orthodox Christianity. See, for example, Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 141 and 217; Anne Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: a complete English edition*, Leiden, Boston &

Now I shall tell you of another thing which the sultan did.

348 When the sultan had taken the castle of Safad, as you have just now heard, he left and went to the kingdom of Armenia, which had a very narrow and well-guarded entrance.¹ Nevertheless he forced an entrance and then rampaged through the whole country, laying it waste and destroying a great many villages and taking the common people captive. The king of Armenia was absent, having gone to visit the Tartars, and had left behind his two sons: one was called Thoros, the other Leon.² The sultan slew Thoros and took Leon alive and brought him back to Babylon, along with many of the great people and the ordinary people of the kingdom.

349 When the month of August came, Sir Hugh of Lusignan, *bailli* of the kingdom of Cyprus, came to Acre, bringing a very fine company of soldiers, knights and others. When he arrived, he and the Templars and the Hospitallers and the Germans³ and the French knights⁴ and many other footmen and horsemen went out raiding towards Tiberias. Along their way they damaged many of the places of the Saracens. Then the alarm was raised throughout the land, so that the Turks of Safad and those places round about ambushed them at Caroublier,⁵ in the plain of Acre, falling on the vanguard of our men, who because of covetousness for loot were well-nigh three leagues ahead of the others. They knocked them (that is to say, the Hospitallers and the Germans and the French knights of Sir Geoffrey of Sergines' company and a number of others) about badly, and killed a good five hundred or more men, foot and horse alike. Many of them escaped by fleeing, but the peasants of the land, who were all Saracens, caught them at night off-guard, drunk, and slew them for their armor and their clothing. This was the outcome of the Christian raid.

In this year, in the month of December, a very great man called Lord John of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, died. I have spoken elsewhere to you of him earlier.⁶

350 When the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1267 arrived, the sultan of Babylon came up outside Acre with all his host on the second of May, carrying banners

Cologne, 1998, pp. 71 and 422; and C. R. Cheney, 'The Downfall of the Templars and a Letter in Their Defence', in *Medieval Texts and Studies*, ed. C. R. Cheney, Oxford, 1973, pp. 322–27; *Le Procès des Templiers*, vol. I, Paris, 1841, pp. 169–71 (as cited in Barber, *Trial*, p. 141).

¹ The few passes across the Anti-Taurus mountains, from Syria into Cilician Armenia, are narrow and easily defended.

² Hetoum I, king of Armenia 1226–69; Thoros, d. 29 August 1266; Leon II, king of Armenia 1269–89.

³ The Teutonic Knights.

⁴ The French regiment, left by King Louis IX and commanded by Geoffrey of Sergines; see below, same section.

⁵ Al-Ruwais, in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders*, vol. II, p. 217.

⁶ See, for example, §319 above.

from the Temple and the Hospital, and surprised the poor ordinary folk of the plain of Acre, who had come out to work in the fields. He advanced to the gates of the city, and killed more than five hundred of the common people whom he had taken prisoner, and spilled the bile from every one of their bodies. And he sliced all the hair off their heads, to below their ears, and carried it back to Safad, where he strung the scalps on a cord and hung the cord around the great tower at Safad. It remained there as long as the cord lasted.

The next day he returned to Safad, and on the sixteenth of May showed up again outside Acre, and brought *Buhohan*¹ very near the hillock which they call the Toron of Saladin, and sent out at least 3,000 horsemen across the plain of Acre. At this the men of Acre came out armed, and rang the bell so that everyone would sally forth.

At this time there were two great lords, both brothers, who had come to Acre. They were the natural sons of King James the Elder of Aragon.² They rode outside the city; the Templars and the Hospitallers were on a small hill³ in front of Acre, just a little more than a crossbow shot away from the walls.⁴ They saw the three thousand Saracens spread out in front of them. Of the sultan who lay in ambush at the Toron of Saladin, as I have told you, they had no inkling, so these two lords, sons of the king of Aragon as I have explained, wanted to fall on the Saracens, and they put a good bit of pressure on the Templars and Hospitallers and made great boastful speeches to them. But the brethren ignored them, for if they had been defeated, the city would have been lost, as I shall show you by and by.

351 With the Saracens being thus arrayed early in the morning, as I have told you, let me now tell you of a misfortune which befell the Christians.⁵ We had with us from beyond the sea a great man of France named Sir Robert of Crésèques,⁶ who had gone out that previous night, he and Sir Oliver of Termes and other knights and turcoples, in order to attack some villages held by the Saracens. There were about 130 armed horsemen, not counting *escuers*, and they raided into the area around a castle known as Montfort of the Germans.⁷

¹ Meaning uncertain.

² I.e., illegitimate sons. The king is James I (1213–76), distinguished from James II (1285–1327) who was presumably on the throne when this history was written.

³ Called the *Toron*.

⁴ This fits well with Benjamin Kedar's recent argument that thirteenth-century Acre was much larger than historians previously thought, as the Toron is much farther than that from the walls of early modern and modern Acre. See Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', *Atiqot* 31 (1997), pp. 157–80. The exact extent of the walls of thirteenth-century Acre is in dispute.

⁵ Minervini, following other sources, places this expedition in 1269 (Minervini p. 365, n. 115.1).

⁶ Robert of Crésèques was the seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem following the death of Geoffrey of Sergines; he had some connection to the French regiment as well (C. J. Marshall, 'The French Regiment in the Latin East, 1254–91', p. 304).

⁷ The headquarters of the Teutonic Knights until 1270, when it fell to Baibars.

At the very moment that the Saracens were in the plain of Acre, and the sultan lying in ambush, as I have told you, Sir Robert of Crèsèques and Sir Oliver of Termes returned from their raid, and as they came, they raised such a cloud of dust that the Saracens noticed them, and rode out against them, and pulled up between our men on the small hill and those who were arriving. When the two groups were very near each other, they recognized each other. Sir Oliver said to Sir Robert that the Saracens had too many men, and that it would be better to avoid battle, for Sir Oliver knew quite well that they could easily reach safety inside the city of Acre by way of the gardens outside the *Maupas Gate*.¹

But Sir Robert replied that he had come from across the sea in order to die for God in the Holy Land, and that he was going into battle no matter what, so he sent one of his sons, whom Sir Robert had with him because the boy was a child, with Sir Oliver and seven or eight others, and they took the road through the gardens and reached Acre.

Meanwhile the two groups were approaching each other, so that Sir Robert had only to strike at the Saracens, who numbered around three thousand. The Saracens did not dare to make the first move against our men, though they only numbered about two hundred. Sir Robert did not delay, but he and his company launched themselves at the Saracens, who opened the way for them, and they passed on through, and took the road towards Acre. As they were making their way back towards Acre, the Saracens came from behind them and attacked a French knight, Sir Baldwin of St. George, the brother of Sir Henry of Guines. They killed his horse, whereupon Sir Robert turned and charged into the Saracens ... [lacuna]² ... several, and they defended themselves for such a long time that the Saracens were unable to bring them down, so finally some of the Saracens shouted to the others that they ought to strike at the 'barley storehouses', by which they meant to try to kill the horses. They said this in code so that none of the Franks would understand it. So all the Saracens began to attack and kill the horses, and the battle was quickly over, because when one of our men was on foot, he was as good as dead. In the end those on our side were beaten and more than four hundred of them killed, if you count the *escuers* (of whom some were taken captive). Among the captured, who were few in number, were Sir Oliver of Termes' two nephews, who afterwards died in prison in Babylon, and another Catalan knight called *Cordate*.

When the latter was taken, he was put into a house at a village beneath Safad, which had a window opening onto a terrace, with a wooden bar across the window. The rooftop of this house was not very high, but rather was low like that of a peasant house. *Cordate* was a very nimble and resourceful knight, and this saved him, for he easily climbed up to the window and, seizing hold of the bar, let

¹ A gate in the middle of the outer wall of the suburb of Montmusard.

² Probably the others followed Sir Robert back into the fray, all the Christians were brought to bay, but the Saracens were unable to close on them when they were mounted, and they held off the Saracens and killed several of them.

himself down onto the terrace (which was made of earth). He got down from the terrace and set out towards Acre, sticking to the fields and avoiding the main road, navigating by the sign of a star. By dawn he was back at Acre, and came before the patriarch¹ and the other lords, to tell them what he had pulled off, as I have told you. And he told them that if the men of Acre who had been on the small hill had attacked the Saracens, the whole land would have been lost, because the sultan himself had been there with 15,000 elite horsemen, each on an armored mount, and they realized that if the men of Acre had moved against the Saracens in the plain, the sultan, from his ambushade, would have come out immediately and gone for the city.

352 The men of Acre went out and sought to find the corpses of the dead Christians. But they were headless, because the Saracens had struck off the heads of all those who had been killed in the battle, so that it was difficult for anyone to recognize even a relative from the features of his body.

353 After a few days had gone by, the sultan came back again from Safad to Acre, destroying mills and garden towers² and cutting down the orchards and vineyards which were round about Acre, and doing a great deal of harm. But I want to sum up these matters in Syria by telling you that, in his time, up to the moment we are speaking of, he took both Krak des Chevaliers of the Hospital and Gibelcar,³ and took still other places that I will tell you of later on. But I wish to leave off speaking of these things now, in order to tell you of other events which took place in this year [1267].

354 It happened that the Genoese, who had a great desire to take vengeance on their enemies the Pisans and the Venetians, wanted to make another attempt to gain revenge on their enemies. They armed twenty-eight galleys in Genoa and set Luchetto Grimaldi over them as admiral. He had with him, in his company, two men who were wise and experienced in naval matters: Sir Pasquetto Mallone and Papano Mallone. They came unexpectedly to Acre on the sixteenth day of August in this year 1267 of Christ, into the port of Acre, and they burnt two Pisan ships in the harbour and planted their ensign on the Tower of the Flies,⁴ and stayed in the port for twelve days. During this time Luchetto Grimaldi left, taking with him fifteen galleys that needed refitting, and went to Tyre. He left thirteen galleys in the harbour at Acre, and in his place he left Pasquetto Mallone, with Papano Mallone, in command.

¹ William of Agen (1262–70).

² Acre was surrounded by market gardens, orchards and olive groves, many of which would have been guarded by watchtowers.

³ Both taken by Baibars in 1271; Gibelcar, then in the County of Tripoli, is modern Akkar.

⁴ The Tower of the Flies was on the end of the harbour mole at Acre.

While the Genoese admiral was in Tyre, the Venetians came to Acre with twenty-eight galleys that had been armed at Venice, and surprised the thirteen Genoese galleys. But when the Genoese saw the Venetians, they left and went out to meet them, so that they would have maximum room to maneuver and escape, because if they had been caught in port, they should all have been captured – but they came out in such a manner that none of them were lost. They went straight between the Venetians and passed through and out the other side, so that the Venetians detained five galleys with all their men (who were killed), and the other eight galleys proceeded on to Tyre to join the other galleys who were refitting inside the harbour of Tyre, except for three galleys which had started for Sidon, to speak with the master of the Temple. Admiral Luchetto was with them. They sent the news to him, and he immediately turned back (for he had not gone too far), in a towering rage. Immediately, that very night, they left Tyre and returned to Genoa. The Venetians came up outside Tyre with their twenty-eight galleys, thinking to find the Genoese galleys there; when they did not find them, they went back to Acre and from thence to Venice, and a truce was made for three years between Genoa and Venice. Every three years they renewed the truce, because the Genoese wanted a brief truce. Their intention was to avenge themselves, which they did. You will hear how in this book.

355 It happened in the month of November of this year [1267] that Hugh II, heir to the kingdom of Cyprus and son of King Henry I the Fat and Queen Plaisance, passed from this present age, and on Christmas Day Hugh of Lusignan¹ was made king after him by Patriarch William of Agen, who had gone to visit the churches of Cyprus. The new king was the first cousin of the Hugh II who had died, being the son of the late king's father's sister.² And there was another Hugh, the son of another sister³ and Count Walter of Brienne, who died in a Saracen prison, as I have told you earlier.⁴ This Hugh, Count of Brienne,⁵ had a claim to the kingdom of Cyprus, but he did nothing about it, and left the country and went overseas, and King Hugh of Lusignan took the crown and held it by the decision of the Court.

356 In this same year [1267], King Louis of France and his sons took the cross in order to come to Syria, as did King Charles of Anjou and the king of Navarre⁶ and the Lord Edward (son of the king of England) and his brother and many other

¹ Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan, who had taken the name of his mother's house.

² Isabella.

³ Maria.

⁴ Almost certainly another reference to something in the missing sections for 1249–58, above.

⁵ Hugh of Brienne, who contested the succession of the kingdom of Jerusalem with Hugh III. He was the son of Walter IV of Brienne, (see notes to §252, above) and Maria of Lusignan, sister of King Henry I of Lusignan.

⁶ Theobald (or Thibaut) V, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne (1253–70).

barons from Germany and England and Spain. They then went to Tunis, as you shall hear forthwith.

357 In the year 1268 of Christ Pope Clement IV died, and Gregory X of Piacenza, who had been Archdeacon of Liège, was made pope.¹ On the day he was elected he was in the city of Acre; he was then brought to Rome.

358 In this same year it happened that Conradin, son of King Conrad and the daughter of the duke of Austria in Germany,² heard how King Charles had defeated and killed his uncle, King Manfred. He gathered a great host of horsemen and footmen, so that he might go against King Charles. All this was at the instigation of the Pisans. Count Gerard of Pisa even came to him, himself, in Germany, and accompanied him into battle. So did a great man from Genoa, the brother of Alberto Spinola, who was the Genoese captain at one time. This Conradin left Germany and came against King Charles, and brought his uncle (who was the Duke of Austria) and other German barons with him.

359 King Charles assembled his men and went out to meet him, and when they had spotted each other, they deployed their battalions and squadrons, as they should. The men of Conradin struck first, and charged into the men of King Charles so fiercely that they drove them in amongst their tents. While the men of King Charles defended themselves amongst their tents, King Charles was on a good-sized hill, with a large squadron of the best knights he had. With him was a French knight named Sir Alart of Valery, a valiant and hardy knight, of great renown and very experienced in warfare.

As King Charles watched his men driven back amongst their tents, he was very dismayed, and he asked Sir Alart of Valery if there were any castle in which he might take refuge, if need be. Sir Alart replied that there was Paris, but nothing else that he knew of, and that he was thinking along other lines.

Just then a *valé* came to him and said, 'Sir, give some thought to helping your men, who are in a bad way!'

King Charles replied to him, 'Never mind! The good and strong and valiant will still be there for us, as chaff blows in the wind and wheat remains behind'.

At these words, Sir Alart of Valery saw the men of Conradin coming out of the encampment laden with clothing that they were carrying, and said to King Charles, 'Now then, my lord, help your men, and vanquish your enemies!'

¹ But not until after a three-year gap; Theobald Visconti (born in Piacenza) was elected pope September 1, 1271.

² Conradin's mother was Elizabeth of Bavaria, daughter not of the duke of Austria but of Otto, Duke of Bavaria and Count-Palatine of the Rhine.

360 King Charles and the elite knights with him came down onto the plain, fresh and rested, and fell on Conradin's men, and found them tired and weary, some of them laden with clothing and equipment which they had looted from the encampment, and all scattered about. They pressed them first with thrusts of lances, and then with *bordons*, so that the battle was very deadly, and many men were slain.

In the end, Conradin, his uncle the duke of Austria, Count Gerard of Pisa, and a Genoese of high birth called Tommaso Spinola who was captain of Genoa – these four – fled the battle and went down to the sea, into a cave. They stayed there for two days, without anything to eat. Then a fishing boat came by, and this Tommaso Spinola went out and spoke to them, saying that they wanted them to take him and the other three knights who had escaped the battle on board, and conduct them to safety, and they would pay them a great deal. They heard him give his reasons, consented to do as he requested, and sold them bread which they ate. Meanwhile one of those on the boat went to Naples and reported it to those at court. They sent men who seized them and brought them back to Naples. When they arrived there, King Charles had them taken to court, and they were condemned by judges, and their heads cut off.

361 Conradin was beheaded first, and then the Duke of Austria, his uncle; they said that he would not make his confession, as he was in despair, saying all the evil things he could think of, out of desperation. After this Count Gerard of Pisa was beheaded. Sir Tommaso Spinola had his eyes put out, and his nose and both hands cut off, and then they let him go.

362 This Conradin of whom I speak was the son of King Conrad, who in his turn was the son of the Emperor Frederick II and the Queen of Jerusalem whom, as I have described and explained, the emperor married.¹ The kingdom of Jerusalem came to him through the mother of his father. When he was dead, as you have heard, and was without heirs, the kingdom of Jerusalem reverted to the lineage of the mother of his father.

363 The news of his death and of King Charles' victory in battle came to Acre, whereupon the people of Acre had a great celebration and lit bonfires, which lasted several days. They were celebrating the death of him who ought to have been their lord, but the celebration was not held out of any malice, but rather to appease Holy Church, and for King Charles, who was the defender and senator of Holy Church. And another reason was that God wanted them thus to show approval of the disinheritance of the heirs of the emperor and his sons, Kings Conrad and Manfred,

¹ Conrad's mother was Queen Isabella II; see §245, n. 3, above. The explanation actually occurs in the central portion of the *Gestes des Chiprois*, Philip of Novara §116.

who were persecutors of Holy Church all through their lives, and who died excommunicate.

Now I want to leave off telling you about this subject, and will tell you about what happened in the land of Syria in this year [1268].

364 This sultan, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was called al-Malik al-Zahir, but who was usually called Baibars, came out of Babylon and arrived at Jaffa, in the land of the Christians. He took it on the eighth of March, by treason and during a truce. He killed many of the common people, and let the rest go to Acre with all their belongings, and gave them safe-conduct. He took the relic of the head of St. George, and carried it off, and burned the body of *St. Crestiene*,¹ whom Bishop John of Troyes had left at Jaffa.

365 From there, the sultan went on to Beaufort, which belonged to the Templars. He took it by force on the fifteenth of April, and after that went on to Antioch and besieged it. It put up scant defense, and he took it on the nineteenth² of May. When the city was taken, more than 17,000 people who were inside it were slain, and more than 100,000 people, both religious and lay – men, women and children – were taken captive. The Templars then abandoned two castles which were nearby, Gaston and Roche de Roussel, and also abandoned the territory of *Porbonel* at the approaches to Armenia.³

366 Meanwhile the sultan arranged the release of a great Saracen man named Shams al-Din Sunqur al-Ashqar, whom the Tartars were holding.⁴ He was freed and came to Babylon in exchange for Leon, the son of the king of Armenia.

367 In this same year [1268], Balian of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, was made *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

¹ Possibly St. Christine.

² Antioch fell on the eighteenth, not the nineteenth.

³ Gaston is probably Baghras (or Bagras), though some authorities identify it with Sari Seki (see R. W. Edwards, *The Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, Washington, DC, 1987, p. 215, and *idem*, 'Bagras and Armenian Cilicia: a reassessment', *Revue des études arméniennes* n.s. 17, 1983; A. W. Lawrence, 'The Castle of Baghras', in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, pp. 415–55, ed. T. S. R. Boase, Edinburgh & London, 1978, pp. 34–84; and Judith Upton-Ward, 'The Surrender of Gaston and the Rule of the Templars', in *The Military Orders, Vol. II: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber, Aldershot, 1994, pp. 179–88).

Roche de Roussel has variously, and controversially, been identified as Calan, Servantkar, or La Roche de Guillaume. See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 141–4; Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 349, n. 56, and see a discussion of the possibilities in Edwards, *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, p. 99. The territory of *Porbonel* is Port Bonnel or Arsuz. See the gazetteer in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. Boase, p. 177.

⁴ See Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, p. 185, n. 97.

368 And in the year 1269 there was a great earthquake in Armenia, which brought down five castles and three Armenian abbeys, and twelve villages. And Sir Geoffrey of Sergines, who had been seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem and captain of the men of the king of France,¹ died on the eleventh of April.

Now I want to explain another matter which took place in the same year.

369 It happened that when King Hugh III of Cyprus, who was the son of Henry son of the Prince, and who took the name Hugh of Lusignan from his mother (through whom the kingdom of Cyprus had come to him),² saw that Conradin was dead, he had himself crowned king of Jerusalem at Tyre. Conradin and Hugh were both the sons of cousins, for Conrad, who was the son of the emperor Frederick II and the father of Conradin, and the mother of Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus were first cousins, born of two sisters through whom the right to the kingdom of Jerusalem passed.³

Now it happened that King Hugh III, of whom I am speaking to you, had an aunt, sister of his mother's mother,⁴ a lady called the *Damoiselle*⁵ Maria, because she never had any husband. At this time she was more than forty years old. This *Damoiselle* Maria challenged the right of King Hugh to the kingdom of Jerusalem, and said that she was nearer in degree to the right to the kingdom than was King Hugh III of Cyprus. Philip of Montfort and the Templars and the Hospitallers and other religious tried to resolve this issue, and were unable to do so. The *Damoiselle* went to the Order of the Temple, and then went overseas to plead her case before the pope. When the day of the king's coronation over the kingdom of Jerusalem arrived, a cleric, accompanied by a notary, came into the church, and cried out in a

¹ That is, the French regiment; see §326, above.

² King Henry III was the son of Henry the son of Prince Bohemond IV of Antioch and Isabella of Lusignan, daughter of King Hugh I of Cyprus.

³ This is not quite right; the author has left out a generation between Conradin and the common ancestor, Isabella I (d. 1205). See Peter Edbury, 'The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1264/6 and 1268', *Camden Miscellany* 27 (1979), pp. 1–47.

In modern terms, the relationship is as follows. Isabella (daughter of King Amalric and Maria Comnena) had a daughter Maria 'La Marquise' by Conrad of Montferrat and a daughter Alice by Henry of Champagne. Maria had a daughter Yolanda (or Isabella II) by John of Brienne, and Alice had a daughter Isabella by Hugh I of Cyprus. Yolanda had Conrad by Frederick II, and Isabella had Hugh III (Hugh of Lusignan) by Henry of Antioch. Conrad and Elizabeth of Bavaria had Conradin.

Thus Maria 'La Marquise' and Alice were half-sisters; Yolanda and Isabella were half-first cousins; Conrad and Hugh III were half-second cousins; and Conradin and Hugh III were half-second cousins once removed.

Cf. Appendix III: Genealogical Trees, in Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, Vol. III, 'The Kingdom of Acre', Cambridge, 1955, betw. pp. 492 and 493.

⁴ Maria of Lusignan, daughter of Melisende of Lusignan and Bohemond IV, was Hugh of Antioch-Lusignan's mother's first cousin.

⁵ A word for an unmarried woman, usually a girl or young woman, though not in this case. See the Glossary.

loud voice in the presence of all the people that he disputed the coronation of the king, as he had been commanded to do. He immediately fled from the presence of the people; it was not known what became of him.

I shall tell you more of *Damoiselle* Maria another time, because I want to speak of something else now.

370 Philip of Montfort held Tyre as a gift from King Henry I of Cyprus. This gift was not secure because Conrad was alive, and Philip was afraid that King Hugh would want Tyre back.¹ So he arranged it so that King Hugh gave his sister² to John of Montfort, Philip of Montfort's son, and King Hugh confirmed the gift of the city of Tyre to this John of Montfort in such a way that if his wife had a child, the city of Tyre would remain in their possession, them and their heirs, and if John of Montfort and the lady were so unfortunate as not to have any children, then the city of Tyre was to revert to King Hugh or to his heirs. In this case King Hugh, or his heirs, were to give 150,000 saracenate bezants to John of Montfort's heirs, to cover the great expenses which Sir Philip of Montfort had incurred in fortifying the city and repairing it.

And so the marriage was agreed on, and John of Montfort went to Cyprus, and betrothed and married the king's sister, and there was a very great celebration, the kind that ought to be put on for such a great wedding. John of Montfort brought her to Tyre, and the king accompanied them as far as Famagusta, and equipped three

¹ The matter was somewhat more complicated than this. Tyre had traditionally been part of the royal domain of the kings of Jerusalem. Philip had taken over the city in the mid-1240s, initially acting as a governor on behalf of the Ibelin-dominated regency in Acre. Because regents could not alienate royal domain, they give him no permanent title, but through long association he came to assert that he was 'lord of Tyre'.

Hugh III, the first actual king of Jerusalem in the East since John of Brienne in the 1220s, was in a weak position and arrived at the solution which the author describes. Although John and Margaret had no children, Hugh III was unable to compensate the family for its expenses in defending Tyre, so Humphrey of Montfort took over the city in 1283 after John's death. After Humphrey's death in 1284, it appears that Margaret retained control of Tyre, since it was she who concluded the treaty with Qalawun mentioned in the following note. See also Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 98.

² Margaret of Antioch, daughter of Prince Henry and sister of King Hugh III, married John of Montfort about 1268. She survived her husband (who died in 1283). During her widowhood she concluded a treaty in 1285, as Lady and Regent of Tyre, with Sultan Qalawun. The treaty was recorded by al-Maqrizi and published in Étienne M. Quatremère (trans.), *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte écrite en arabe par Taki-eddin Ahmed-Makrizi* [al-Makrizi], vol. II, part 2, Paris, 1842, appendix, pp. 212–21; both the text and a discussion may be found in English in P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian rulers*, Leiden, 1995, pp. 106–17. After this she retired to the Isle of Cyprus and took the veil of a nun at Our Lady of Tyre, in Nicosia. She died in this monastery on January 30, 1308 and was buried there. See also 'Amadi', p. 271.

galleys, which escorted them, along with one galley from Tyre called a *panfile*, and they arrived at Tyre, where they held a great celebration.

371 This lady, when she was married, was a high-born maiden of twenty-four. She was the most lovely of all the ladies and maidens on this side of the sea in her day, especially her face, and I know very well of what I speak, because I saw her all the time, since I was one of four *valés* who served her that first year. She was a truly good woman, most wise and generous, and she and my lord her husband loved one another very much. Later on she became fat, quite beyond reason, and came to resemble her father, who was hugely fat, and my lord of Tyre was much troubled with gout in his feet and hands, so much so that he was quite crippled, though he had been a very fine knight, most pleasant, a wise *prud'homme* and an accomplished knight. He had a brother whose name was Humphrey¹ of Montfort, a fine great knight, who was without peer in his day, and who married the daughter² of John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, who had an older sister³ who was the Lady of Beirut.

But I will leave off speaking of these people now, and tell you another matter which occurred in this year [1269],⁴ in order to follow my story more properly.

372 You know that I have recounted to you how the kings of France and of Navarre, and the children of the king of France, and King Charles and Lord Edward (son of the king of England) and his brother, and other counts and barons from England and Germany and Spain, took the cross in order to come to the holy land of Syria.⁵

They all assembled, and decided to go to take Tunis, which is a great Saracen city. They gathered a great navy and went to Tunis, just as they had arranged, and landed without any opposition. They had around 19,000 horsemen altogether, and a very great quantity of footmen. As for marine forces, they had a great navy and many men. Among others, there were 17,000 Genoese with all their fleet, for the Genoese intended to regain their rights in Acre.

373 While the host was thus before Tunis, the Saracens put them to a great deal of trouble and annoyance. The Saracens raided out against them when a high wind blew and the dust came so strongly upon our men that they could not see each other. They had made a ditch between our men and them, so that one might not get

¹ Or Anfred.

² Eschiva of Ibelin, daughter of John II, Lord of Beirut, and Alice de la Roche, the daughter of Duke Guy I of Athens.

³ Isabella of Ibelin, who died childless despite having been married four times.

⁴ The text reads 'which occurred in the incarnation of the said year'; I have altered it to make more sense, since either the copyist or the author has obviously not said exactly what he intended to say.

⁵ §356, above.

to them, so our footmen shot crossbow bolts at them, by which they killed some of the enemy, but you must know that there were so many of the enemy that nothing significant could be accomplished by this sort of thing. This was because God, who knows and ordains all things, saw that our men had turned aside from His service in the Holy Land, and had gone where there was not such great need, and so He scarcely wished to help them, with the result that a great sickness came into the host, to such a degree that many men died. Among the dead were the good King Louis IX of France,¹ and the king of Navarre,² and John Tristan (son of the aforementioned king of France), and many barons and other knights, too many for me to name. Those that survived knew full well that their undertaking was wrecked.

While the Christians were in the state that I have described to you, as it had pleased God, the sultan of Tunis sent to King Charles, to make a treaty. King Charles saw that he was not going to get anywhere, so they made an accord between them whereby the sultan promised to hand over a specified tribute every year to King Charles, and made such guarantees to them as they agreed on, and he gave them a sum of money equal to the expenses of the host.

After this I want to recount to you another event which took place in Syria.

374 In the year 1270 of Christ, Baibars, the sultan of Babylon, wanted to foment and create mischief amongst the Christians. He knew well that Sir Philip of Montfort, Lord of Tyre, was a very wise lord, and that nothing was done amongst the Christians in Syria without his guidance, and he knew moreover that Philip sent letters and messengers to kings and lords overseas to stir them up to come here. For this the sultan wanted to kill him. So he took some Saracens who are called Assassins, and dressed them in the outfits of men-at-arms, and sent them to Tyre. He commanded them to slay this lord of Tyre, and also the lord of Sidon, the one who had sold Sidon to the Templars and who was the nephew of the lord of Tyre. For this lord of Sidon, for all that he was a willful man who had mismanaged his affairs, was nonetheless most wise and keenly intelligent in military matters, and was valiant and hardy and big and strong. For this reason the sultan wanted him dead too.

These two Assassins came to Tyre on horseback, carrying Turkish arms and wearing belts of silver, in the manner of Saracen men-at-arms. They went straight to the lord of Tyre and asked him for baptism. The lord of Tyre, who was not on guard for such things, had them baptized. One of them took his name and was called Philip. The lord of Sidon had the other one baptized, and was his godfather, and he took the name Julian. The lord of Tyre retained them both in his service as

¹ Died 24 August 1270.

² Not quite accurate. King Theobald V (who was also the Count of Champagne, from a family with a long history of crusading) died a short time later (though still in 1270), after having returned to Trapani in Italy, of illness contracted in North Africa.

turcoples, and the lord of Tyre trusted them greatly. Nonetheless it was said to the lord of Tyre that he ought to be on his guard, because the sultan sought his death and had sent out Assassins to kill him – to which the lord of Tyre replied that he was no longer the lord of Tyre, but that his son was its lord, so that the sultan had no reason to want him dead. Still, he had his viscount seek out and monitor foreign people who came into Tyre – but he made no attempt to protect himself from these two, whom he kept in his own residence.

Now it happened one day that these two Assassins became good friends with a Levantine Syrian who served the lord of Tyre as *farais*,¹ that is to say, he swept and cleaned and washed down the palace and the courtyard, and looked after the tents when necessary. This *farais* came one day to eat with the two Assassins. While he was in their lodgings, and one of them was gone out into the marketplace to buy bread and the other was out in the kitchen, this *farais* took an arrow out of their quiver – and in the quiver there was a poisoned dagger, wrapped in a cloth! By this, he realized that they were Assassins.

When they were together at the table, eating, this *farais* wanted to learn from them the whole matter of the dagger he had found. When they saw that they were discovered, they confessed their plot to him, and told him that they wanted to kill the lords of Tyre and of Sidon for the sultan. They promised to give him 100 old bezants² by Sunday [to keep him quiet].

It was now Thursday. Afterwards, these two Assassins bethought themselves that unless they gave the 100 bezants to the *farais* on the Sunday, he would betray them, and so they decided that they would hurry up and do the deed on the coming Sunday.

At this point, the lord of Sidon left to travel to Beirut, whereupon one of the two Assassins, the one who was the godson of the lord of Sidon, went to Beirut in order to kill the lord of Sidon, and the other remained at Tyre, and they arranged that on the coming Sunday the one should carry out his commission at Tyre, and the other at Beirut, all on the same day. The disloyal *farais* kept the affair secret in order to get the 100 bezants which they had promised him, and he said nothing to lord or *bailli*, like a traitor.

When Sunday came, the Assassin came into the courtyard very early, and went towards the lord's chapel. There he found Sir Philip of Montfort at the entrance to his chapel, on foot, speaking with one of his burgesses. The Assassin came up to

¹ *Farais* is derived from an Arabic word, *ferrach*, which means a groom or valet (not to be confused with a similar word, *faris*, which refers to a professional horseman, rather than a type of servant) (private communication to the translator from Michael Chamberlain).

² This is a rather odd stipulation. There had been no recent devaluation of the coinage, but it still seems to mean that the money should be of high quality. The phrase *bonos et veteres*, 'good and old', sometimes occurs in notarial contracts dealing with money, meaning that the money involved was to be of good (not debased) quality, according to D.M. Metcalf (private communication). Perhaps the implication is that the money was to be paid in saracenate bezants, not the white bezants of Cyprus.

him and greeted him, whereupon the lord told him that he was a good Christian, and did well to come to Mass, and he gave him money for the offering, because another Mass had begun for his son, the Young Lord, Sir John of Montfort, and it was time just then for the offering.

The Assassin took the money and went off to give it, and then he saw that there was no one in the chapel except for the Young Lord and one other knight, called William of Picquigny. It seemed to him that he could carry out his evil deed. On emerging from the chapel, he ran into the Old Lord, Sir Philip of Montfort, and stabbed him in the chest with the dagger, and because at this moment the Old Lord was handling one of his rings on his finger on the other hand, in the blow he pierced the hand which was on his breast,¹ and then he left the dagger in him, and put his hand to his sword and went back into the chapel to kill the other lord.

But when he struck the Old Lord, the blow sounded so loudly that the Young Lord, who was in the chapel reading his book, turned to see what was going on. When he saw the Assassin coming in with a naked sword in his hand, he lunged towards the altar, which had a board painted with pictures of saints on the front of it, and he got behind it. As the Young Lord made his lunge for the altar, the Assassin threw the sword, trying to hit him on the table of the altar, but [he missed, and] the sword stuck so tightly that it could not be withdrawn.² Sir William of Picquigny came up and grabbed the Assassin from behind, and told the Young Lord that he could come out. The Young Lord came out and took the Assassin by the hair with one hand, while with the other hand he tried to pull out the sword, and [in doing so,] two fingers of his hand were injured.

At this point, the Old Lord of Montfort came out of the entrance to his chapel, going slowly³ on his own feet, and sank down onto a stone bench outside the entrance to his chamber, and those who spoke to him lifted him up, and raised the alarm to the sergeants. They straightway came up there and rushed up to the Old Lord, who said to them: 'Go help my son in the chapel, for the Saracen is killing him!'

Everyone ran to the chapel and immediately killed the Assassin, and rescued the Young Lord of Tyre, who came to his father. His father opened his eyes and saw him safe and sound, and lifted his hands towards heaven, thanking God without saying anything more, and his soul left him, and he died. And the Assassin was also dead, just as he was. He was drawn and hanged,⁴ and they immediately sent a *barque* to Beirut by sea, and a turcopole by land, to tell the lord of Sidon to be on guard against the other Assassin and to seize him. But as soon as that

¹ Apparently Philip of Montfort was idly fondling a ring on his hand, with both hands in front of him, and so the Assassin pinned one hand to Philip's chest as he struck.

² Apparently, it struck the painted altarpiece instead of the Young Lord.

³ Or, 'carefully'.

⁴ It was not uncommon for dead bodies of offenders to receive further punishment.

Assassin caught wind of this, he mounted his horse and fled to the Saracens and was safe, for it was only a very short distance from the Christians to the Saracens.

When the traitor of a *farais* saw what had happened, he went off so no one would know what he had done, and this was noticed when he was wanted. He was questioned, and taken and tortured,¹ and he confessed that he had known about it. Thereupon his tongue was torn out beneath his chin, and his right hand cut off, and he was drawn and hanged.

The lord of Tyre was buried in the mother church of Tyre, called Holy Cross, and he was a great loss to Christendom.

Now let us leave off speaking of him, whose soul is with God, and I will tell you of another matter.

375 In this same year, when the *Damoiselle* Maria (aunt of King Hugh III of Lusignan) saw that her nephew, King Hugh, was made king and crowned over the kingdom of Jerusalem, as I have told you, and after she had registered an objection via a clerk and a notary, as I have shown you above, she departed from Acre and went to the court of Rome, and lodged a complaint against King Hugh before the pope. The pope at that time was Gregory X.

The pope and his court heard her case, but while the proceedings were going on, the said *Damoiselle* Maria met King Charles and negotiated with him and arranged to give her claim and her case to him. King Charles then aided her whenever he could, and when the question had been properly considered, and it was time for sentence to be passed, the pope and his court ruled that the *Damoiselle* Maria had more right to inherit the kingdom of Jerusalem than did King Hugh.² The pope and his court confirmed the gift that the *Damoiselle* Maria had made to King Charles of her rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem that she was claiming, and King Charles gave Maria a sum of money each year assigned against the revenues of his lands in France, though after a time he assigned it to her from lands in Apulia.

376 In the year 1271 of the Incarnation of Christ, on the eighteenth of February, Baibars, sultan of Babylon, besieged the castle of Krak des Chevaliers, which was held by the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. He took it on terms on the eighth of April, sparing their lives.³

¹ Lit.: 'put to the question'.

² This account is not entirely accurate. Charles did propagate the story that he had been given the right to the kingdom, but the papal court never made such a ruling. For a more recent view of the affair, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1978, pp. 225–27.

³ Some sources indicate that the castle was taken by means of a ruse, in which Baibars presented the defenders with a forged letter from the Hospitaller master, instructing them to surrender. Hugh Kennedy believes that the fall of the castle was inevitable in any case: see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p.150.

On the ninth of May in the same year the Lord Edward, son of the king of England, arrived in Acre. He encountered a great storm at sea on the voyage out, so much so that a waterspout hit his ship, so that it nearly foundered. He brought his wife with him,¹ and the count of Brittany came along.² In September Sir Edmund, brother of the Lord Edward, also came to Acre.³

And in this same year Baibars, sultan of Babylon, besieged Gibelcar, which belonged to the prince of Antioch, and took it on terms.⁴

377 I will tell you of another event in this same year.

The sultan of Babylon armed eleven Saracen galleys and sent them out to do damage to Cyprus. When they reached the waters off Limassol, they all wrecked and broke up due to pilot error, by God's will and not for any other reason, for both the wind and the sea were perfectly calm. They were all taken as slaves, though two galleys escaped and went back to Alexandria.⁵ If things had not turned out thus, they would have destroyed Limassol and other places in Cyprus.⁶

378 In this year the sultan besieged Montfort of the Germans,⁷ a castle very near Acre, and took it on the twelfth of June, on terms and sparing their lives. On the sixteenth of July he conducted the men to Acre, and let them go.⁸ On this day the men of Acre were all in arms, ready to defend their lands. Then the Lord Edward saw the sultan's host and his great power, and knew too well that he did not have the men to fight the sultan with. So none of the Christians dared go out against him, and the next day the sultan left, and went back to Babylon.

¹ Eleanor of Castile (d. 1290).

² John I (1237–84).

³ Edmund, Earl of Lancaster (d. 1296).

⁴ Gibelcar (Akkar) had been held by various people, including the Hospitallers and the lord of Nephin, before passing into the possession of Bohemond IV of Antioch and Tripoli. It apparently remained in the possession of the princes of Antioch and Tripoli until 1271. See Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, p. 67.

⁵ The author contradicts himself.

⁶ Some Eastern sources claim that the Egyptian galleys had painted themselves to look like Christian ships and had placed crosses on their masts, in order to deceive the Cypriots. The king of Cyprus notified the sultan of this loss, and was answered by an insulting letter (which Baibars was fully capable of doing, as surviving examples of his correspondence prove). See Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. II, p. 167.

⁷ That is, the Teutonic Knights. Montfort was also known as Starkenberg.

⁸ The text indicates that Montfort was taken *a .xii. jours dou mois de jun* and that the men were taken to Acre *a .xvi. jours de gunet*, which must be translated as above. But it would seem more reasonable to suppose that the sultan kept his prisoners only four days, and that he took them to Acre on 16 June, not July. There is similar confusion between June and July in §§263 and 467.

379 And then the Lord Edward mounted a raid and went to attack a rich village called St. George which is about three leagues from Acre.¹ The Templars and Hospitallers went with him, as did the other men of Acre. This was at the end of July, when it was extremely hot. They destroyed the village and slew a great many Saracens and won much loot. But a number of our men died there, on account of honey from bees and other things which they ate, as footmen were accustomed to do, so that they died on the road, from heat and from exhaustion and from the hot food which they had eaten.²

380 King Hugh of Jerusalem and of Cyprus came over from Cyprus to Acre, and paid great honours to the Lord Edward, and there was great amity between them. Bohemond VI, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli and first cousin of King Hugh of Lusignan (born of two brothers), also came, but he stayed only a little while in Acre and then left and went to Tripoli in his own country.

381 On the twenty-fourth of November of that year the Lord Edward and King Hugh and the chivalry of Cyprus and Acre, along with the Templars and Hospitallers, went out to attack a fortification called Qaqun, which is in the land of Caesarea twelve leagues or more distant from Acre. They did a good deal of damage to the Saracens, and took two Turcoman encampments;³ they slew many Saracens and captured animals, great and small, about 12,000 of them, and they besieged some Saracens within a tower at Qaqun. It was very strong, surrounded with ditches filled with water. They came near to taking it, but our men were afraid to linger too long while the alarm went out across the land, since the Saracens would then assemble from all parts. So our men departed and returned to Acre with all their loot, safe and sound.

382 Now I will tell you what happened to the Lord Edward.

It happened that a Saracen man-at-arms came to be baptized at Acre, and the Lord Edward had him made into a Christian, and retained him in his own quarters. This fellow served the Lord Edward in such a capacity that he would go to spy on the Saracens to find out where one might do them harm, and he performed this service many times. It was by his offices that our men went to St. George and Qaqun, and as a result the Lord Edward trusted him so much that he gave orders that he was to be allowed to speak to him at any time of the day or night.

¹ Probably St. George of La Baene, about twelve miles east of Acre.

² Possibly implying that the food got warm and spoiled or, alternatively, that the food was too rich for the weather. The original term is *chaude*, which can have metaphorical meanings.

³ Turcomans were nomadic Turkish tribes which had entered the area along with the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century.

So it happened one night that he came to the chambers where the Lord Edward was sleeping with the queen,¹ and brought the translator with him, and let it be known that he had just come from spying and that he wanted to speak to the Lord Edward, so that the Lord himself opened his chamber to him, dressed only in an undershirt and *braie*.² The Saracen met him and stabbed him on the hip with a dagger, making a deep, dangerous wound. The Lord Edward felt himself struck, and he struck the Saracen a blow with his fist, on the temple, which knocked him senseless to the ground for a moment. Then the Lord Edward caught up a dagger from the table which was in the chamber, and stabbed the Saracen in the head and killed him.

The alarm was raised throughout the household, and they saw that their lord was injured, and the cry went out through the city of Acre. Thereupon the lords gathered together there and summoned all the doctors and slaves, who sutured his wound and drew out the poison.

He made a good recovery, by the grace of God, and he left on the twenty-second of September, and went to his own land across the sea.

383 When the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1273 arrived, Brother Thomas Bérard, the Master of the Temple, died, and Brother William of Beaujeu was made master. He was a most noble man, related to the king of France, and was most great-hearted and liberal in all kinds of matters, and was very charitable.³ For these reasons he was greatly renowned, and the Templars in his time were greatly respected and feared. At the time he was made master, he was commander in Apulia. He remained overseas two years, visiting all the house of the Temple in the kingdoms of France and England and Spain; he amassed a great treasure and then came to Acre.

384 In the year 1274, in the month of May,⁴ the pope's council was held at Lyons on the Rhône. At that time the Brethren of the Sack and the Apostolic Brethren and other religious were suppressed.⁵

385 And in the year 1275 of Christ, Prince Bohemond VI (whom they called the Fair Prince) died,⁶ and his son, also called Bohemond, was made prince. He was

¹ Queen-to-be, since Edward was not yet king.

² A kind of loose-fitting pants.

³ William of Beaujeu was master of the Temple from 1273 to 1291. For his kinship with French royalty, see Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 169. The author was in William's service, as becomes plain later on.

⁴ The Second Council of Lyons opened on 7 May 1274.

⁵ A number of new orders were deemed to be unnecessary and were folded into larger, existing orders at the Second Council of Lyons.

⁶ 11 March 1275.

the last of all the princes of Antioch and counts of Tripoli.¹ He had a sister who was in Apulia, married to Sir Narjot III of Toucy, the Admiral of Apulia. His mother was the sister of the king of Armenia.²

Because this Bohemond VII was very young, his mother brought a prelate to Tripoli, who was bishop of Tortosa and vicar of the patriarch of Antioch.³ He had been born in Antioch and was called Bartholomew, and he was a very great churchman. The knights were deeply disgusted at being governed by a cleric, but they endured it and did not show their disdain.

I will say no more than that about this matter, and will rather tell you of another event.

386 In the year 1276, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of March, Baibars, Sultan of Babylon, came out with all his host from Babylon. He went to Armenia, where he ranged about and destroyed things and put everyone he encountered to the sword.

387 And in this same year, Sir William of Roussillon arrived at Acre in the month of October, bringing horsemen and footmen from the king of France, with himself as their captain.

388 And in this same year Pope Gregory X died, and Innocent V was made pope.⁴ In the same year, on the twenty-eighth day of June,⁵ Sir Henry, son of the prince⁶ (the father of King Hugh III, King of Jerusalem and of Cyprus), was drowned outside Tyre. He was arriving on a ship belonging to the Teutonic Knights and going to Tripoli. The ship struck a rock and broke up; Sir Henry was dragged from

¹ Bohemond VII, who died childless in 1287. He never actually possessed the city of Antioch, which had been lost in 1268 (see §365, above). The family transferred its residence to Tripoli after 1268, though there is evidence that they were spending a good bit of time in Tripoli even before 1268.

² Bohemond VII's sister Lucy of Antioch, daughter of Bohemond VI and Sibylla of Armenia, had married Narjot III of Toucy, grand admiral of Sicily and son of Narjot II of Toucy, regent of Constantinople while Emperor Baldwin II was in Western Europe soliciting aid from Christian princes. After the fall of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Narjot II had returned to the Kingdom of Naples, where Charles of Anjou gave him the lordship of Terza in the region of Otranto, along with the office of grand admiral. His sons advanced a claim to the principality of Antioch. The Toucy family was originally from Champagne, in the diocese of Auxerre.

Bohemond VII's mother Sibylla was the daughter of King Hetoum I of Armenia.

³ Bartholomew, bishop of Tortosa c. 1272–c. 1292). See Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 235 and 237–41.

⁴ The author mistakenly refers to him as Clement V, here and in §389. Clement V did not become pope until 1305.

⁵ Other sources disagree on the date, which is variously given as June 18, 27, or 28. See Hill, *History of Cyprus II*, p. 172, n. 4.

⁶ Son of Bohemond IV and Plaisance of Jubail.

the sea and carried in to Tyre to his daughter, the Lady of Tyre (the wife of John of Montfort, Lord of Tyre and of Toron). They buried him within the Hospital of St. John.

389 Also in the same year, Pope Innocent V died, and Adrian V was made pope.¹ He died this same year.

But I want to tell you about a great quarrel which happened in Syria, also in this same year.

390 You have heard how the princess, the mother of the infant prince of Antioch, had brought in the bishop of Tortosa and made him governor of Tripoli.² Now there was, during this time, a lord of Jubail called Guy, son of the sister of the lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin the Younger, who was dead.³ So the lord of Jubail was called Guy of Ibelin, though he was descended from a family from the city of Genoa, of the lineage called Embriaco. His ancestors were William of Embriaco, who was lord of Jubail, and the sister of the prince. Because this prince and his sister⁴ were descended from the Baux family, who bore a star on their arms, all the lords of Jubail and their lineage also carried a star on their arms.⁵

391 This lord of Jubail had great love for the new prince, his lord, and was married to a first cousin of the prince, the daughter⁶ of the lord of Sidon, Julian (who was now dead). This lord of Jubail was an exceedingly handsome man with a great presence. He was big and large-limbed and fair and blond and blue-eyed and of a lively color, and valiant and hardy. But he was a bit on the stout side, and

¹ Or, Hadrian; elected 11 July and died 18 August, 1276.

² See §385, above.

³ Guy II of Jubail was the son of Henry of Jubail (d. 1271) and Isabella of Ibelin, sister of John II of Ibelin, who was lord of Beirut and was called 'the Younger' (d. 1264). He did, as the author indicates next, take the name of his mother, even though he was an Embriaco. For a discussion of Guy (including a biography from the Muslim historian al-Yunini), see Robert Irwin, 'The Mamluk Conquest of the County of Tripoli', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter Edbury, Cardiff, 1985, pp. 246–9.

⁴ This appears to be a reference to Guy of Jubail's paternal grandmother, Alice, sister of Bohemond IV and married to Guy I. William Embriaco flourished in the mid-twelfth century and was the great-grandfather of Alice's husband (though not the founder of the Gibelet family in the East).

⁵ The author may be drawing false genealogical conclusions from a demonstrable heraldic similarity. See *RHC*, p. 781, note d.

⁶ Margaret of Sidon, daughter of Julian (who had died in 1275). Julian of Sidon and Bohemond VI had married sisters, the daughters of Hetoum I of Armenia.

willful. He had two brothers. One was a knight who was called John,¹ who was also a very fine knight, and the other was a *valé* called *Baudinet*.²

Now it happened that the lord of Jubail requested that the prince should grant the hand of a maiden to his brother John. This maiden had a great fief, through her father Sir Hugh Salamon. The prince granted it to him. But the bishop of Tortosa, who had two nephews of his own, wanted to have the maiden for one of his nephews, and he prevailed upon the prince to grant her to him. When the lord of Jubail realized this, he went immediately and concluded the marriage of the said maiden with his brother.

Because of this, the prince and the bishop were most furious with him. The lord of Jubail and his brother left Tripoli and went to Jubail, and then the lord of Jubail went to Acre, where he became a *confrère* of the Temple,³ and he and the master, Brother William of Beaujeu, were very friendly. The master promised to aid him whenever he could.

So the lord of Jubail returned to Jubail, and set about enjoying the fief and the rents which his brother had acquired by marriage. The prince was not inclined to tolerate this, and thus there was conflict between them, so that they now had another occasion for exercising their former hatreds.

392 It happened that the lord of Jubail came in strength and took his brother's lands by force, so that he could have them. At this the prince was most enraged, and summoned him before the court. In response, the lord of Jubail went to Acre and spoke with the master of the Temple, who gave him thirty brethren whom he brought back with him to Jubail. He then waged open warfare on the prince, and did a great deal of harm to his lands. So the prince had the house of the Temple in Tripoli knocked down, and cut down the Templars' woods, which were called *Moncucu*.⁴

When the master of the Temple learned about this, he armed galleys and other vessels and went to Jubail, bringing with him a great convent of brethren. Then he went from Jubail to Tripoli and besieged it for a number of days, during which time no one came out against him, neither horse nor foot, but rather guarded the walls of the town. So the master and his men left and returned to Jubail. On the

¹ John of Jubail, who married a daughter of Hugh Salamon (a Tripolitanian noble whose name appears in a document of 1252).

² I.e., 'young Baldwin'. He died before having become a knight.

³ *Confrères* were secular knights who associated themselves with a military order. See *The Rule of the Templars*, J. Upton-Ward, trans., §§69, 128, 133, 411, 541, and 683; and Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 242–6.

⁴ Apparently a Templar estate near Tripoli. The name occurs in a variety of forms: *Moncucu* (here), *Montquocu* (in §167 of the preceding section of the 'Templar of Tyre', written by Philip of Novara), or *Montemcucul* or *Montcoqu* (references in Minervini, pp. 367–68). Barber translates it as *Montroque* in *The New Knighthood*, p. 174.

way, at Botron, the master had a great manor called Chastelet pulled down.¹ The Templars went on to besiege Nephin,² a very strong castle on the sea which belonged to the prince. It happened one day that twelve Templar brethren and a secular knight called Paul of La Teffaha forced their way on horseback inside Nephin's gateway.³ But the sergeants who were up above the gate forced the gate shut, and they were thus captured. As they were inside the castle walls, they did not want to surrender except on terms, saving their lives. So they were taken and put in prison, and then later sent to Tripoli; the prince held them in his prison at his court.

393 The master left Jubail and went to Acre, leaving thirty brethren and their captain (named Brother Masé Goulart) with the lord of Jubail. Following this, the prince gathered a host of horsemen and footmen, and came to besiege Jubail, but when he was between Botron and Puy de Conestable,⁴ he received news that the men of Jubail had come out, so the prince was advised that he ought not to go in person. From this place he returned to Tripoli, and sent his men out against the men of Jubail. Those who had come out of Jubail numbered thirty brethren and knights and *valés* and turcoples, so many that there were a good hundred horsemen, not counting the *escuers* or the footmen. From Tripoli there were more than 200 horsemen, and large numbers of footmen and *escuers*.

They fought with each other, and in the end those of Tripoli were badly defeated. Raymond, bastard brother of the prince, was captured, as was Sir Mansel, nephew of the bishop of Tortosa, who had two sword wounds on his body. Sir Roger of La Colee lost his head, and so did Sir William Trabuc, son of the Marshal of Tripoli. Others were slain and captured whom I cannot name. Sir Balian, lord of Sidon, son of Sir Julian, brother of the wife of the lord of Jubail and first cousin of the prince, was killed; he died of suffocation while he was dismounted and removing his armour. The opening of his cuirass was stuck, and he was found with his head within the cuirass. He died thus, with the blood running out of his nose.⁵

After this battle, a one-year truce was made between the prince and the lord of Jubail.

¹ Not to be confused with the Templar Castle of Chastelet, inland at Jacob's Ford.

² A castle between Jubail (Giblet) and Tripoli, of which nothing now remains (see Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, pp. 66–67).

³ On this war and the role of Paul of Le Teffaha, see Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre*, vol. III, pp. 662–8.

⁴ A mountain on the Syrian coast. It was on the edge of the territory of the counts of Tripoli, on the border of the lordship of Botron.

⁵ The meaning of this passage is somewhat obscure. Sir Balian appears to have been trying to get out of his armour, perhaps in order to flee more quickly because he had been unhorsed, but became stuck in the process of removing it. His nose appears to have been bleeding, from a blow or some other reason, and thus he may have drowned in his own blood.

394 In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1277, John XXI was made pope. He died on the twelfth day of the month of May.¹ Nicholas III [was made pope] in November, on St. Catherine's Day.²

395 In this same year it happened that Baibars, Sultan of Babylon, went to the Tartars and fought with them, and was badly defeated, losing most of his men. He returned to Babylon.³

396 In the year 1278 of Christ, in the month of July,⁴ King Hugh III of Jerusalem and of Cyprus left Acre, abandoning the lordship, leaving them there with no government. He sent letters to the pope saying that he was unable to govern the land any longer, because of the behavior of the Temple and the Hospital, and he went back to Cyprus. This was something of a pretext, because he had heard that his aunt, the *Damoiselle* Maria (she who had challenged him for the kingdom of Jerusalem), was at the papal court and that she had given her claim to King Charles of Anjou, and that King Charles had sent Count Roger of San Severino to Acre as his representative, to take over the kingdom. King Hugh did not wish to be found [by the count] at Acre.⁵

397 When the king was back in Cyprus, he sent Sir Balian, Lord of Arsuf, as *bailli* in his place.

398 In this same year, in the month of September, the count of San Severino, count of Marsico,⁶ came to Acre in six galleys, acting on behalf of King Charles. He carried letters from the pope and from King Charles and the *Damoiselle* Maria, saying that the *Damoiselle* Maria had been given the kingdom of Jerusalem by decree of the court at Rome,⁷ and had given her rights to King Charles, and that he was now the king of Jerusalem and their lord.

¹ The author is slightly inaccurate. John XXI was elected 8 September 1276 and died on 20 May 1277.

² Nicholas III was elected on November 25, which is indeed St. Catherine's Day.

³ The author appears to be mistaken here. Baibars did mount an expedition into Asia Minor in 1277, where he defeated the Mongols and had himself declared sultan of Rum. The Mongol Ilkhan Abaqa did come out against him, and Baibars withdrew to Damascus. His conquest of Asia Minor was not permanent, and he died in Damascus (not Cairo) on 30 June 1277 (see P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades*, Longman, 1986, p. 97).

⁴ There is disagreement with this date; see Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 308, n. 201.

⁵ I.e., King Hugh apparently did not wish to have a confrontation with King Charles' officer, which was the real reason for his withdrawal (not the behaviour of the military orders).

⁶ The author says Marseilles, but he is mistaken.

⁷ Charles of Anjou spread this story around by means of his agents, but it was false. In fact, the papal court never recognized Maria of Antioch's claim to the crown of Jerusalem as legitimate

The letters were read out in the hearing of all the people, and Balian of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, came out of the castle, and relinquished the *bailliage*, and Count Roger occupied the castle and lodged there. The count made a great show of setting out for Tyre, but the Venetian commune wanted to go too, in order to secure their rights, which were in dispute.¹ But Sir John of Montfort, Lord of Tyre and of Toron, arranged matters so that the Venetian *bailli*, Alberto Morosini, came to Casal Imbert and made an accord with him, and he restored to the Venetians the rights that they had had at Tyre.²

399 In the year 1279 of the Incarnation of Christ, when the truce expired between the Templars and the prince [of Antioch-Tripoli], the master of the Temple armed thirteen galleys and sent them to Jubail. Several brethren came on shore, to a fortified village of the prince's, called *Dome*. They fought with the prince's knights, and defeated them, and several men were killed. Then the galleys of the Temple came up outside Tripoli where, as it happened, they encountered bad weather, and three of them ran aground near Nephin. But the men of the Temple and of Jubail (who had besieged Nephin) saved the men of the galleys.

400 Following this, the prince armed fifteen galleys and sent them to Sidon, a city of the Templars, and pillaged and damaged an island which was outside it, and captured several brethren along with the people of their households, and returned to Tripoli with all their loot.

401 In this year [1279], King Hugh III of Jerusalem and of Cyprus came to Tyre, bringing with him a great number of horsemen and footmen, thinking to recover Acre. But he was unable to get anywhere, because the master of the Temple was against him. So he returned to Cyprus, where he knocked down the house of the Templars in Limassol, and confiscated all the belongings which they had in Cyprus.

402 And in this same year [1279³], the master of the Hospital, Brother Hugh Revel, died, and Nicholas of Lorgne was made master. He went to Tripoli and made peace between the prince and the Temple, on the sixteenth day of July.

But I will tell you about a fine thing which happened to Christendom.

403 In this same year [1279⁴], at the end of October, brethren of the Hospital from Margat made a raid against the Saracens outside. They did them a great deal of harm, for they found the land well-provided, and won a great many animals and

¹ I.e., to secure rights that had been lost in the War of San Sabas.

² A summary of the treaty may be found in *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani 1097–1291*, 1413.

³ More likely 1277. See Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 189–90 and n. 3 on p. 189.

⁴ Given the misdating of the preceding and following sections, it seems likely that this section should also be dated to 1277, not 1279.

other loot. As they were returning to Margat, they passed by Chastel Blanc, where two encampments of Turcomans and many Turks from Babylon were assembled – a good 5,000 horsemen and many footmen. These pursued the Hospitallers as far as Maraclea, in great haste. At this, the Hospitallers turned on them (although they themselves had only two hundred horsemen) and defeated the Saracens, and slew a great many of them, and gathered a great booty. They returned to Margat – and by the mercy of God, they had lost just one sergeant-brother.

404 It happened, in this same year [1279¹], that Baibars, Sultan of Babylon, took a very large host and went out against the Tartars as far as the Coldwater,² and crossed the river in the following manner. He said to his emirs, 'Let him who loves me, follow me!' And he plunged into the river on his mount, in everyone's sight, and passed through the flood to the other side. The emirs and all the rest, seeing this, plunged after him and came across. So many men and horses drowned that the living crossed over on the dead. They found bridges built,³ which the Tartars had made in order to cross over; these were not in place, but the sultan had them put in place, and all his host crossed over, and rode on for two days. On the third day they surprised a Tartar encampment, a good 20,000 of them, who were caught off-guard. The Saracens fell upon them, and slew the greater part of them, and looted the whole encampment; then they withdrew and crossed over the bridges, which they then destroyed. They went on to Damascus, where Baibars took suddenly ill and died (they say that he had been poisoned).⁴ His son, named al-Sa'id,⁵ was made sultan after him.

405 In the land of pagans⁶ there was a great emir named Qalawun;⁷ he was wise, and Baibars (the sultan who had died) had relied heavily on his advice. Qalawun

¹ Again, a mistake. Baibars died in 1277. The author has apparently forgotten just where he is in the story, and seems to be recounting a Mamluk campaign of 1277. See Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: the Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*, Cambridge, 1995, pp. 168–78. Minervini suggests that the reference is to an expedition in 1272 (p. 368, n. 168.1–3).

² Lit., *Aigues Froides*, a river of uncertain location. Here it appears to refer to the Euphrates or one of its tributaries; later when it occurs (§589), it appears to refer to the Tigris or one of its tributaries. See Minervini, p. 368, n. 168.1. Some historians associate it with the Gök Su, a northern tributary of the Euphrates (see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, pp. 239–40, maps 4 and 5).

³ Apparently a kind of prefabricated pontoon bridges.

⁴ It was widely rumored that poison was involved in Baibars' death, possibly even in an accident in which he drank poison intended for one of his victims.

⁵ Al-Sa'id Nasir al-Din Berke Khan (r. 1277–79), Baibars' eldest son, also known as Berke Khan or Baraka Khan. His mother was a Khwarezmian.

⁶ That is, of the Muslims.

⁷ Sayf al-Din Qalawun al-Alfi; his name is transliterated in a great many ways, including Qalaoun, Kelewan, etc. The text here reads *Lelfi*.

had a daughter whom he gave as wife to the new sultan, al-Sa'id. But as it happened, in the space of a few days al-Sa'id died in Babylon and was carried to Damascus, where he was buried near the tomb of his father Baibars. And this great emir Qalawun was made sultan, and took a boy, the brother of this al-Sa'id and son of Baibars, who was called *Haure*, and sent him into exile in Constantinople. This al-Sa'id was killed by his own uncle, brother of his mother, called Baydara,¹ who intended to be sultan.²

406 And in this same year of the Incarnation of Christ there was a fine thing which befell the Christians who were in the castle at Margat, which belonged to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem; that is to say, the Saracens of the country round about assembled from all sides, in number about six thousand horsemen and many footmen, and they came intending to besiege Margat Castle. They assaulted the castle and ravaged all the land and did all the harm they could manage.

Thereupon the brethren of the Hospital who were within Margat Castle came out against them, and took the battle into the Saracen host. They worked such feats of arms that, with the help of God, they defeated the Saracens and slew a great many, and gained many mounts and other animals, along with equipment and other things. You must know that in this host were many Turks, men of distinction and hardened in battle, who had come up to the castle. The others were Turcomans and Saracens. The Hospitallers had only six hundred horsemen, yet they lost only twelve sergeants and one brother, by the mercy of God.

407 In the year 1281 of the Incarnation of Christ, the Tartars came out of their lands and crossed the Coldwater with a very great host, and raided through the land

¹ Baydara al-Mansuri was one of the murderers of Malik al-Ashraf Kahlil, not Malik al-Sa'id. See below, §527.

² This account is badly mangled. See P. M. Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, pp. 99–107, for an accurate version.

In outline: Al-Sa'id reigned for two year, two months and eight days, and then was forced to abdicate. He withdrew to Kerak in November 1279 and died there in March 1280. After al-Sa'id's abdication, Qalawun had Baibars' second son, Salamish, proclaimed sultan with the title al-Malik al-Adil. Salamish was only seven years old and was obviously a figurehead. After a hundred days' reign, he too was deposed and sent to Kerak, in 1279. Qalawun then made himself sultan, with the title al-Malik al-Mansur. Kerak was held for a time by Baibars' third son, Khadir (referred to by our author as *Haure*. Khadir and Salamish were later removed from Kerak and indeed sent into exile in Constantinople, where Salamish died in 1291. Khadir returned to Egypt in 1291 and died in 1308 or 1309.

Qalawun reigned until November 1290, and was replaced by his son Khalil al-Ashraf. Al-Ashraf destroyed Acre in 1291 and drove the Franks from the Holy Land, but was himself murdered by a Turkish officer, Baydara al-Mansuri, in 1293. Baydara in turn was killed shortly thereafter by Mamluks loyal to Khalil al-Ashraf. Khalil al-Ashraf's half-brother Muhammad al-Nasir, a child of about nine, was made sultan, and ruled, with some interruptions, until 1341.

of Aleppo and Hamah and Homs, and lingered there and did a great deal of damage to the Saracens, and slew many of them. The king of Armenia was with them, as were certain Frankish knights from Syria.

408 When the Sultan al-Malik al-Mansur¹ heard this news, he assembled all the horsemen and footmen that he had – so many that they came to 80,000 horsemen and about 100,000 people on foot – and he came out of Babylon and went to Homs. There he came upon the Tartars, and fought with them on the fifteenth day of September, outside Hims. The Tartar captain was called Mengu Temur, who was the brother of Abaqa, great lord of the Tartars.²

As it happened, the Saracens took great hurt and lost many men; they were so driven back and scattered that Mengu Temur believed them to be thoroughly routed, and thought that he had entirely won, and he withdrew. But the Saracens rallied and fell upon the Tartars and routed them, so that Mengu Temur was so thoroughly worsted that he was put to flight, and abandoned the field. The king of Armenia also turned to go, but at the entry into Armenia, Turcomans assaulted him and slew so many of his men that only thirty horsemen were still with him when he reached Armenia.

409 And in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1282, Guy of Ibelin,³ Lord of Jubail, armed a galley and two *saities*, and hired sergeants who were almost all Genoese, because he had greater trust in them and was one of them himself.⁴ And he left Jubail on the twelfth day of January, at night, bringing with him his two brothers and one of his cousins, William Porcellet of Jubail,⁵ and some other knights, and twenty-five mounted sergeants and well-nigh four hundred footmen. He came to Tripoli, coming ashore between the house of the Templars and that of the Dominicans. Both his men and his horses disembarked between them, and then he had the galley and the large *saitie* foundered,⁶ and left the smaller *saitie* intact.

He then went to the Temple and asked for the commander, Brother Reddecoeur.⁷ But he was not there, and Guy was greatly dismayed. He left, and came towards the residence of the prince, and sent a knight, Paul of La Teffaha, to

¹ I.e., Qalawun.

² Abaqa was the Ilkhan of Persia (1265–82).

³ See notes to §390, above.

⁴ I.e., because the Embriaco family were Genoese in origin.

⁵ A delightful medieval surname, meaning 'Piglet'. For the role of this branch of the family, see Jean Richard, 'Le comté de Tripoli dans les chartes du fonds des Porcellet', *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 130 (1972), pp. 339–82.

⁶ The passage is obscure. He seems to have disabled the larger ships in some way which could have been reversed later; possibly the *saitie* was deliberately sunk.

⁷ The name sometimes appears as Roderick; see Minervini, p. 369, n. 173.2.

get some things which he needed from the galley. But this Paul boarded the *columbet*, with four standards,¹ and fled to Beirut.

The lord of Jubail was at the residence of the prince. When he saw that the things from the galley were not coming, and that the men [inside the residence of the prince] were aware of his presence and were coming out armed as the alarm was raised, he lost all courage and left and went into the Hospital of St. John, which is adjacent to the wall of the town and had a gate by which he would be able to leave. But he was so distraught that instead he went into the tower, and his men with him.²

410 The prince, who was asleep, wakened and armed himself and came up to the Hospital with his men. He besieged the tower and the lord of Jubail and his knights. At this, the commander of the Hospital took pity on Guy and made an accord between them, that the lord of Jubail should spend five years in the prince's prison, along with his two brothers and all his men, and that after the five years, he should be freed and sent back to his own land. The prince swore this to him on the holy gospels of God. But as soon as the prince had them in his power, he put out the eyes of all of the Genoese and foreigners. But he had [even more] evil intent towards those who were of Jubail, because they were his men³ and had assembled themselves to come against him with force: the prince sent the lord of Jubail and his two brothers and their cousin William of Jubail and Andrew of Clapiere to Nephin, and had them put into a ditch, and walled it up and enclosed them inside it, and they died of starvation.⁴

411 This news was widely reported, whereupon my lord John of Montfort, Lord of Tyre and of Toron, immediately rode out with his men and came to Beirut, and sent a Genoese galley, which had been at Tyre under the command of Sir Papano Mallone, to Jubail. The very night that my lord of Tyre reached Beirut and was preparing to take counsel as to how he might defend Jubail, the firelight from the fires lit in celebration in the town, which had had fallen to the prince's men, could be seen over its walls. The galley [whose men saw this] was so near to the town that they heard the shouts in praise of the prince. They returned to Tyre, and my lord of Tyre also went back to Tyre.

¹ Another obscure passage. Perhaps the point is that the *columbet* was flying four banners, though it is difficult to see why this would be noteworthy.

² See Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, vol. III, p. 667, for an account of this incident.

³ I.e., vassals.

⁴ Sir Steven Runciman (in *History of the Crusades*, vol. III, p. 389, and 'The Crusader States, 1243–1291', in *HC* II, p. 587) says they were buried in sand up to their necks, but this is plainly mistaken, as the passage here (to which Runciman refers in the latter essay) is quite clear. The Muslim historian al-Yunini, on the other hand, reported that 'it is said' that Guy and his adherents were drowned (Irwin, 'Mamluk Conquest', p. 247).

412 The Pisans of Acre put on a very great festival over the capture of the lord of Jubail, and illuminated their quarter and their houses brightly, and celebrated with trumpets and *chalemiaus*¹ and drums and many kinds of instruments, and held dances and drinking parties and all kinds of other festive activities. They dressed a man up richly in a fine robe, with a belt of silver and a silver sword, and put him on a platform where he played the role of the prince, and had sergeants around him, and they took another good-sized man and dressed him in *epaulières* and put a mantle lined with fine squirrel fur on him, and he played the role of the lord of Jubail. They had the sergeants take him and bring him before the 'prince', where he fell on his knees before him. The 'prince' said to him, 'Guy of Ibelin, do you know me? Am I not the prince, your lord?' And he replied, 'Yes, Sir'. And then the 'prince' said to him, 'I will make you die like a traitor!' They repeated this three or four times through that night.

413 During the night that the Pisans were making merry, Sir Tommaso Spinola – a great man of a great Genoese family – was at Acre on some business, lodging at the Hospital of St. John. He saw the illuminations and the festival which the Pisans were holding over the lord of Jubail, and he was filled with hatred. He promised and swore that when he got back to Genoa, he would do them as much harm as he was able. You should know that he did it, too, because it was he who did the most to stir up and urge the Genoese against Pisa, by which the Pisans suffered great harm, as you shall learn hereafter. And it was he who first did them harm, as you will hear later on in this book.

But I will leave off speaking of this now, and tell you about some other events which occurred in this same year of 1282 of the Incarnation of Christ.

414 It happened that the king of Aragon had thirty galleys and four *salties* armed, intending to go into Greece to make certain acquisitions, and also intending to go against the great King Charles there. But he had not yet revealed any of this.

415 The emperor of Constantinople, Palaeologus,² who was always suspicious and afraid that the Franks were coming against him, kept his ears open in that direction. When he learned of the preparations of the king of Aragon, he realized his intentions. So he sent a messenger to the king of Aragon. The messenger to the king of Aragon was a Genoese burgess called Sir Benedetto Zaccaria;³ he negotiated an accord between them for a quantity of money which the emperor sent to the king of Aragon. And Sir Benedetto Zaccaria conveyed it to him, and turned to go back to Greece.

¹ Probably a kind of flute or recorder.

² Michael VIII Palaeologus (1259–82).

³ See Roberto Lopez, *Genova marinara nel Duecento. Benedetto Zaccaria ammiraglio e mercante*, Messina & Milan, 1933.

When the king of Aragon had the money and the galleys all prepared, he set out to go to Sicily, and he sent to Palermo to arrange for the region to rebel. As it turned out, Palermo rebelled against King Charles on the day after Easter, and in the month of May Messina rebelled, and they killed many men from beyond the mountains.¹

416 Upon this, King Charles gathered a great army and brought knights and other horsemen and footmen with him and came up outside Messina and besieged it. And the men of Messina came out and trampled and cut down the vines and the gardens before King Charles' very eyes. When he saw that the men of Messina were actually destroying everything, he left the place, for he did not wish the destruction of the countryside, wanting rather to recover it in a prosperous state.

417 When the month of August arrived, the king of Aragon came to Palermo, bringing twenty-four galleys and *salties*, and the men of Palermo received him willingly. Then he went on to Messina. Those of Messina received him with great honours, and accepted him as lord and king. After this, he sent for his wife, named Constance, who was the daughter of King Manfred. It was through her that he claimed the right to inherit the kingdom of Sicily.

But I will leave off telling you about this, and will tell you about something else.

418 You know how I have told you that King Charles had the lordship of the kingdom of Jerusalem through the *Damoiselle* Maria, and called himself king of Jerusalem.² He made Sir Odo Poilechien³ the seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and sent him to Acre in his stead, as *bailli*. Count Roger of San Severino returned to the West. He made a French knight the marshal of the kingdom; the marshal came to Acre with Sir Odo Poilechien, to the castle at Acre.⁴

419 And when the first day of August in the year 1283 came, King Hugh III of Jerusalem and of Cyprus arrived at Beirut, bringing with him two of his sons. One of his them, the second son, was called Bohemond; another, the eldest son, was called John,⁵ and was left in Cyprus; there was another who was called Henry,⁶ who afterwards was king, as you will hear. And he brought with him fine men-at-arms, knights and others.

¹ I.e., Frenchmen from beyond the Alps. See Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, for an account of this episode.

² See above, §§396–98.

³ Lit., 'Odo Dog-hair' – another delightful medieval surname.

⁴ The marshal was Jacques Vidal.

⁵ Later King John I (1284–85).

⁶ Later King Henry II (1285–1324).

On the sixth day of the same month, he left Beirut and went to Tyre. The day he arrived in Tyre, his personal banner with the Lusignan arms fell into the sea. As he landed at the entrance to the town, the Jewish Torah was carried out to meet them, as is the custom which they perform for the king.¹ As a Jew named Samuel the Doctor was following the Torah, he collided with the cleric who was carrying the cross before the procession, so that the cross, which was so high, fell onto this Jew, and broke his head. However, the king was at the church.² He then mounted his horse, and went to lodge in the residence of my lord of Tyre. His mounts remained at Beirut, and some of the men of his household came by land to Tyre. When they were near Tyre, between Chastelet³ and Damor, in a bad way, the Saracens assailed them, and a knight and several other common people were slain, and some were taken alive.

420 On the twenty-seventh of November in this same year,⁴ as it pleased our Lord, the good and kindly lord, my lord John of Montfort, Lord of Tyre and of Toron, passed away. This was a most grievous loss. He was buried in the mother church of Tyre, within the tomb of his father, on the vigil of St. Catherine.⁵ This lord was most sagacious in all matters, both to God and man, and for this he was loved by all manner of people, especially those of his own household, who loved him greatly and mourned him greatly.

His wife was the sister of King Hugh III, as I have told you earlier;⁶ her name was Margaret, a most good lady, and wise, and of great beauty. She had no children by him. When my lord Humphrey,⁷ his brother (who held Beirut through the right of his wife, Lady Eschiva, who was the daughter of the lord of Beirut, John of Ibelin) was summoned, he came. His elder brother, my lord of Tyre, died during that night. I was at his burial.

¹ Apparently it was the custom in Tyre for minority communities to greet the king by carrying symbols of their various communities before him when he visited. On the Jews in the kingdom of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century, see the last chapter of Joshua Prawer, *The History of the Jews in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Oxford, 1988, pp. 250–91.

² The implication seems to be that the unfortunate event did not take place in the king's presence.

³ As before (§392), this refers to the Chastelet on the seacoast, not the one inland at Jacob's Ford.

⁴ 'Amadi' gives the date as 26 November (p. 215).

⁵ St. Catherine's Day is 25 November. The Vigil of St. Catherine's Day would thus be 24 November, so there is some confusion here, either in the transmission of the text or the author's mind.

⁶ See above, §§370–71.

⁷ Or Anfred.

421 King Hugh III of Lusignan assembled his court, along with the Genoese and Pisans and Venetians, and in the presence of all he invested¹ Lord Humphrey of Montfort with the land of Toron, and Sir Humphrey did him homage. And he invested him with the city of Tyre on certain conditions – that is, if the king had given him 50,000 saracenate bezants by the following May, then Tyre would revert to the king,² and if the king had not given him 50,000 saracenate bezants within that time, then Tyre would remain in the possession of my lord Humphrey. But this affair of which I am telling you turned out quite otherwise, as you shall hear.³

422 And it happened during those days that the good child, the kindly and generous and courtly Bohemond, son of King Hugh III, took ill, and there grew on his neck a most ugly tumor. They sent for two doctors from Acre, who bled him. But because of the swelling and other maladies, he departed this world for the next on the third day of the month of November of that year [1283]. This was a very great loss, for he was fair and good and courtly.

423 And when the twelfth day of the month of February of that same year came,⁴ my lord Humphrey, brother of my lord John of Montfort, lord of Tyre, passed away, and was buried in the mother church of Tyre in a tomb of his own brother, who was called John. John was the son of another lady who his father had married in the West, first cousin to the king of France, who as a *valé* had come across the sea to see his father.⁵ And this lord Humphrey died, a very fine knight with a great presence, so much so that once when the king of France saw him, he avowed that he was the finest knight that he had ever seen up to that moment. This lord Sir Humphrey left five sons and a daughter, lovely children: the eldest son was named Johnny,⁶ then Philip, Guyotin, Amaury and Rupin, and the daughter was Alison. Three of the sons died as children, and the daughter died shortly thereafter.

¹ Lit., *revesty et seizi*, a legal phrase.

² See above, §370.

³ Under the 1269 agreement Tyre could only pass to John's children (of whom there were none). Otherwise it escheated to King Hugh. But Hugh had to compensate John of Montfort's heirs for the expense of fortifying Tyre (50,000 saracenate bezants), and Hugh was unable to do this immediately, so he made this agreement with Humphrey. But Humphrey himself died before the six months were up, and so the agreement became void.

⁴ We would say that this was February 1284, not 1283, but the author is considering the new year to begin on March 25, as many medieval people did. See also below, §424. For a discussion of medieval dating practices, see R. Dean Ware, 'Medieval Chronology: theory and practice', in *Medieval Studies: an introduction*, 2nd ed., ed. James Powell, Syracuse, NY, 1992, pp. 252–77.

⁵ This is a tangled genealogy whose confusion is caused by the fact that Philip of Montfort, father of John and Humphrey of Montfort, had been married before, in France, to Eleanor, a daughter of the count of Auxerre, and had had a son, also named John, by her. This John of Montfort lived most of his life in the West.

⁶ Or, 'Little John'.

Amaury died as a young knight, and Rupin also died as a very young knight¹ and left three children: one son whose name was Anfrion² and two daughters, Jeannette and Helvis.

424 And when the twenty-fourth day of the month of March arrived – which marks the end of the year 1283 and the beginning of 1284³ – the very noble King Hugh III of Lusignan passed away. This was a great loss to Christianity, due to his great intelligence and virtue. He had been king of Jerusalem and of Cyprus, and he was so fair and so noble that, if he had been in the midst of a thousand knights, one could have picked him out as king.

They put him inside three nested coffins, well-sealed and well-pitched, and Constable Simon of Montolif came to Tyre, and conveyed the bodies of the king and of his son, and the body of King Hugh's father⁴ who had died of drowning, back to Cyprus, where they were placed in the mother church, called St. Sophia.⁵ And so in the space of four months, these four lords – the king and the others – died at Tyre, as you have heard.

425 Afterwards, in the month of May of the same year [1284], Lord John, King Hugh's eldest son, was crowned king in Cyprus. A very great festival was put on, but he did not live long, as you shall hear told.

426 And in the same year of 1284, on the fifth day of July, the men of Messina, who had armed twenty-four galleys, came up outside Naples, which was held by King Charles. And the son of King Charles,⁶ whose name was also Charles and who was at that time prince of Salerno, armed thirty galleys and went out to meet the galleys from Messina and attacked them. But the galleys of the prince were put to flight, and he himself was captured along with other good men, knights and others, and they were brought to Messina to prison.

427 In this same year, on the seventh day of January,⁷ King Charles the Great passed away while he was in a castle named Foggia.

428 And on the twelfth day of March of the same year⁸ Brother Nicholas of Lorgne, Master of the Hospital of St. John, passed away, and John of Villiers was made master.

¹ Rupin died in 1313. Anfrion (Humphrey) son of Rupin died in 1326; this is not mentioned, which leads one to infer that the work was probably completed before that date.

² Or 'Little Anfred' or 'Little Humphrey'.

³ As noted above, the author is using Annunciation Day, March 25, as New Year's Day.

⁴ Henry, son of the prince.

⁵ I.e., the Church of Holy Wisdom in Nicosia.

⁶ King Charles II of Anjou (1285–1309).

⁷ Again, we would say in 1285.

⁸ Again, 1285 by our reckoning.

429 And in this said year of 1284,¹ Sultan Malik al-Mansur came to Damascus and made his preparations, and went out to besiege Margat, a castle of the Hospital of St. John. The siege lasted from the seventeenth day of April up to the twenty-seventh day of the month of May, when he took it on terms. He had mined out towards the Tower of Hope, which had collapsed. The sultan sent all its people in safety to Tripoli and to Tortosa.

430 In the year 1285 of Christ King Charles, son of the great Charles of Anjou, was released from prison in Messina, along with the others who were captured with him.²

431 In this same year, on the tenth of May, King John I of Cyprus, son of King Hugh III, died.³ He had only been king for a year.

432 And in the same year his brother Henry, who defeated the Genoese, was crowned king of Cyprus.

433 And in this same year, King Philip III of France, son of Louis IX, who had gone to Gerona in Aragon⁴ and had captured it by the sword, died there.⁵ His body was carried back to Paris. Louis of Beaujeu, constable of the kingdom of France, also passed away at Gerona, as did other vassals. This constable was the brother of the master of the Templars, Brother William of Beaujeu.

434 And twenty days after the death of the king of France, King Peter of Aragon died, and the French host left that place and returned to France. And now I shall leave this and tell you of another event.

435 In this same year of 1285, King Henry II of Cyprus wanted to come to Tyre, but because he was on bad terms with the Templars, it seemed that he could not do so without war. So he sent a knight, Sir Julien Le Jaune, as messenger to the master of the Temple, Brother William of Beaujeu, and the messenger lodged within the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Acre. He spoke several times with the master of the Temple in such a way that their differences were resolved by a treaty. This treaty was first written down by my hand, though I have not included it in this book, because it would be too long.

¹ I.e., 1285.

² See above, §426.

³ Sanudo (p. 229) and 'Amadi' (p. 216) give the date as 20 May; Machaeras gives 10 May (R. M. Dawkins, ed. and trans., *Leontios Makhairas: Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, vol. I, Oxford, 1932, §41, p. 43).

⁴ The author is wrong; Philip did not capture Gerona, but only besieged it. See Joseph Strayer 'The Crusade against Aragon', *Speculum* 28 (1953), pp. 102–113.

⁵ Philip III died on 5 October 1285.

436 And in this same year of 1285, on the fifth day of July...[lacuna]....

437 And when the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1286 came, King Henry II of Cyprus arrived at Acre on the feast day of St. John the Baptist, in the month of June.¹ His uncle, Baldwin of Ibelin, constable of the kingdom of Cyprus, came with him, and he brought a very fine force of knights with him, along with other horsemen and footmen and a lovely fleet of galleys and of other vessels. He was received by everyone with the greatest of honours and with great joy. A procession, and all the people, came to meet him, and brought him to the mother church, called the Church of the Holy Cross. While he was there, he said that he would lodge only in the castle. But Sir Odo Poilechien, who held the castle for King Charles, had put the men of the regiment of the king of France and other men-at-arms inside it some days earlier, and they began to prepare siege engines, and readied the castle to resist King Henry.

438 At this, the master of the Templars and the master of the Hospitallers and the master of the Germans² all three gathered in the Temple, and did not come to meet the king or to receive him. They said that this was because they were religious,³ and did not want to be involved in this matter, so as not to incur the ill graces of either party. Straightaway, when they heard the riot that had begun, and saw that arrows and missiles were being fired here and there, and that those in the castle had fired their siege engines, and that a disaster was brewing, all three masters came to the afore-named place where the king was, in the church. And they gave him great joy, and spoke to him, and then went to the castle and spoke to Sir Odo Poilechien, and arranged matters so that Sir Odo Poilechien promised to hand over the castle to the three military orders, and the king went to lodge at the residence of the lord of Tyre, beyond the Sepulchre.⁴ And four days later, the castle was handed over to him, and he went to lodge inside it.

439 In this same year, on the Feast of Our Lady in August,⁵ King Henry was crowned king of Jerusalem at Tyre. Brother Bonnacorso⁶ Archbishop of Tyre, crowned him. And great festivities were held at Tyre. And when the king came to Acre, they put on a festival that lasted fifteen days in a place at Acre called the *Auberge* of the Hospital of St. John, where the Hospitallers had a very great palace. It was the loveliest festival anyone had seen for a hundred years, with amusements

¹ St. John the Baptist's Day is June 24. The text reads July, but must be mistaken.

² Teutonic Knights.

³ I.e., members of religious orders.

⁴ Probably the house of the chapter of the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre, living in exile from Jerusalem.

⁵ The Feast of the Assumption, August 15.

⁶ The Dominican Bonnacorso of Gloria, archbishop of Tyre from 1272 to sometime after 1286.

and jousts with blunted lances. They re-enacted the stories of the Round Table and also of the Queen of Feminie,¹ with knights dressed up like women jousting together. Then they had nuns who were dressed as monks and who jousted together,² and they role-played Lancelot and Tristan and Pilamedes and many other fair and delightful and pleasant scenes.

Then the king left his uncle, lord Baldwin of Ibelin, constable of the kingdom of Cyprus, as *bailli* at Acre in his stead and went over to Cyprus.

Now I will leave off telling you about the king, and tell you of another matter.

440 In this same year of 1286 of Christ, it happened that there was a great lord who was called the Judge of Cinarca, lord of an island called Corsica.³ He had been a man of the commune of Genoa, but he wanted to be a man of the commune of Pisa. The Genoese had a very great castle named Bonifacio on this island, as well as other properties there. You should know that the commune of Genoa gave all the male children who were born in Bonifacio Castle twelve pence a day for living expenses until they were twenty-two years old.⁴ And to a girl who was born there, they gave six pence per day until she was fifteen years old. The commune of Genoa did this so as to keep the castle inhabited.

441 Now as it happened, the commune of Genoa heard that the Judge of Cinarca wanted to become a man of the commune of Pisa. The Genoese took a dim view of this, and sent a certain man to Pisa as messenger, who told them that they should not accept him, any more than they would want the Genoese to do in such a case if their positions were reversed. The Pisans did not want to hear about this matter and evaded the issue, immediately sending back a pleasant but meaningless response. And the Enemy from Hell,⁵ who seeks to create strife and warfare among men, arranged things in such a way that a ship arrived from Syria at Genoa, carrying news of the outrages and mischiefs which the Pisans had committed against the Genoese at Acre. Feelings ran so high in Genoa over this that everyone cried, 'War with Pisa!' On this same day, an *lein* manned by Pisans was in Genoa, the *lein* which had carried the messenger of Pisa who brought a reply to the Genoese on the matter of the Judge of Cinarca; it left, and returned to Pisa without accomplishing anything.

¹ The mythical realm of women.

² Or possibly some other burlesque behaviour – the ms. uses an obscure and apparently defective verb here (*bendois*) which requires emendation, but it is difficult to say to what. Minervini renders it as jousting blindfolded; since the author's vocabulary is obviously influenced elsewhere by Italian, perhaps the word is drawn from the Italian *bendare*, 'to bandage or blindfold'.

³ Minervini gives his name as Simoncello. His rebellion began in 1282.

⁴ This is a significant sum of money.

⁵ I.e., Satan.

442 The commune of Genoa armed twenty galleys and made admiral Sir Tommaso Spinola captain over them. He went to two islands which belonged to the Pisans and were near Pisa, and took them. He ravaged and destroyed one of the islands, called Pianosa. On the other, which was called Elba, the inhabitants of the island took counsel and gave their women and children as hostages to the Genoese, and promised to hold the island for the commune of Genoa. But within a very short time, they went over to the commune of Pisa, and abandoned their hostages.

443 Sir Tommaso Spinola remained on these islands, but it seemed to him that he would accomplish nothing whether he stayed or left. Even his men strongly urged him to leave, but in the event, he vowed to remain one more day and no longer. And when the next day came, two armed *columbets* showed up. They moved to intercept them. As soon as the *columbets* spotted the galleys, they turned to flee, and threw a cask into the water. But the galleys chased them until they caught them, and they picked up the cask, in which they found a number of letters. By these letters they learned that five *nefs* and five galleys of Pisa were coming, bearing money which had been collected by the financial officer in their castle, called Castel di Castro.¹ The Pisans took great hurt from this.²

444 And in the following year,³ the Genoese armed fifteen galleys. Their admiral was Sir Enrico dei Mari. Going out to raid the Pisans, this Enrico dei Mari captured a small *nef*. He found out, through the men who were on board, that the Pisans were arming twenty-five galleys, which were to escort three *nefs* that were going to transport men-at-arms to Castel di Castro on Sardinia. Just then five Genoese merchant galleys, who shuttled back and forth to Romania,⁴ passed by the galleys of Enrico dei Mari. Sir Enrico obliged them to remain with him and increased his strength considerably with them, in case he should find himself up against the twenty-five galleys of the Pisans.

While they were thus lying in wait, the twenty-five Pisan galleys and the three *nefs* came out, and they ran into a storm so strong that it dispersed the *nefs*, for the *nefs* sailed on all night.⁵ In the morning the sea was dead calm.

Now the galleys of the Genoese had seen the Pisans go by the night before, and had tailed them all night long, under small canvas sails, with great difficulty and hardship, and in the morning they found themselves in sight of the *nefs*. And

¹ Cagliari.

² This paragraph ends so inconclusively that it seems possible that something has been lost from the text. Presumably Spinola's fleet intercepted and robbed the Pisan *nefs*.

³ See notes to §440, above.

⁴ The Latin and Byzantine East, not modern Romania.

⁵ Galleys, on the other hand, generally anchored in some safe place at night.

they sank one of them, the one carrying the horses, and they fought fiercely together. Finally the Pisans could take no more, and surrendered.¹ They took them to Genoa. Among those taken from the ships was a great Pisan count, called Count Fazio.²

But the day that the Pisan *nefs* were captured, as I have described to you, the twenty-five Pisan galleys who escorted them came up during the day and saw their *nefs* captured. The Genoese attacked them and surrounded them, and there was a battle between them. But the Pisans had struggled against the bitter force of the weather all night, nor were they as used or accustomed to battling the sea as were the Genoese, and furthermore they were demoralized by having seen their ships captured, so they were vanquished. The Genoese captured twelve or thirteen galleys, and the others clustered some way off in a body. The Genoese were fatigued and exhausted, and the sun had set, so they broke off the combat, and made a circle of their galleys around the remaining ships of the Pisans, in order to take them on the morrow. But it turned out otherwise, for at midnight the twelve or thirteen Pisan galleys which were there slipped away, leaving so stealthily that they were not perceived. They got away safely, except for the damage that they had sustained in battle.³

445 After the commune of Pisa had suffered such great harm, as you have heard, not counting the numerous small vessels and *nefs* which the Genoese had captured from them, they took counsel and decided to risk all, and they armed thirty-five more galleys.

At this time the men of Pisa had a podestà⁴ in Pisa who was a very great man of Venice who was called Sir Alberto Morosini. He had a considerable number of men come from Venice in the pay of the commune of Pisa, and put them on their galleys outside the city, and they left and came up outside the city of Genoa. Their captain was this Alberto Morosini. They stayed there for two days.

446 The Genoese immediately armed seventy galleys. During this time bad weather blew in. The Pisans were afraid of the bad weather, because the coast was rugged and inhospitable and was enemy territory, so they left and returned to Pisa. As soon as the weather calmed, the Genoese, who were in readiness, went out after the Pisans, following the trail of things which they found in the sea, which the galleys ahead of them had thrown overboard. Going along thus, they encountered twenty Genoese galleys under a captain called Sir Benedetto Zaccaria, to whom they displayed the signal in use amongst them, and gathered all together. They decided not to reveal all their galleys at once, but to show only sixty or seventy, so

¹ This and the preceding sentence are obscure in the text.

² Count of Donoratico.

³ This paragraph is difficult, and in places the exact meaning is obscure.

⁴ A magistrate or official representative of medieval Italian cities.

that the Pisans would come out willingly. They did it this way: sixty of the galleys moved openly, under sail, and the other thirty were behind, without sails.

When the men of Pisa saw so few galleys, they boarded their galleys again – there were eighty-four of them – and they armed several *barquettes* and *saities*, putting crossbowmen aboard.

447 When the Pisan galleys went out, Sir Alberto Morosini was aboard, and he urged them on in this enterprise. And there were two standards flying; one was all red, and had the figure of Our Lady in white on it, holding Jesus Christ in her arms.

When the Pisans had come out and realized that the Genoese had many more galleys than it had seemed, they regretted having come out, but it was too late to do anything about it, because they were unable to go back. So they had to put it to the test. This was on the day of a feast which the Genoese call St. Sixtus, which falls on the sixth day of August, and which we in Syria celebrate as the Feast of St. Saviour.¹

448 They confronted each other from morning to evening.² The Pisans were heavily laden with arms, and it was very hot, so that they sweated so much that they became thoroughly soaked. The Genoese were unarmed all day long, and so were cool and rested. If you are wondering why the Pisans did not attack them, you should know that they would indeed have done so, except that the Genoese would not have waited as those who hold their position, as you will hear, nor could the Pisans leave without incurring disgrace and loss.³

The Pisans had their galleys weighed down with rings of defensive iron-work,⁴ heavier than they could bear, as was clearly apparent, for many galleys had a device⁵ erected on the prow: an iron ring which when turned had blades each two palms in length and one palm wide which went round like a mill, and they also had flails which turned as I have described.⁶

449 When the Genoese saw that the Pisans had been standing in the sun under arms, and when the sun was behind them,⁷ they distributed bread and wine to their men, and then armed themselves and moved to surround the Pisan galleys, and the

¹ Now called the Feast of the Transfiguration; the feast day for St. Sixtus II is August 5.

² Lit.: 'from matins to vespers'.

³ This is another difficult paragraph with sometimes obscure meaning.

⁴ The passage could be rendered 'with rings of shields'. Marines commonly mounted their shields on the bulwarks of their ship; this may mean that they had too many shields mounted, but that seems a peculiar problem, and in any case, the passage appears garbled.

⁵ Possibly a kind of crane; the word is *arganel*.

⁶ Cf. Minervini, pp. 370–1, n. 212.3.

⁷ Lit.: 'when the sun was behind their shoulders'.

battle was very deadly.¹ At this point, it so happened that Sir Benedetto Zaccaria had two of his galleys raise their masts, and he had a long, sturdy rope tied from the mast of one galley to that of the other. Then these two galleys, which had the rope strung from one mast to the other, got under way well-lashed together. They went on either side of the Pisan admiral's galley, where the red standard flew. The rope came across this flagstaff (the standard was on one side of one galley and on the other side of the other), and they broke off the standard's flagstaff, and it fell. The Genoese took great encouragement from this, and pursued the Pisans, and raised a cry: 'Up! Up and at the Pisans!' The Pisans were put to flight, and that day forty-eight galleys and their captain, Sir Alberto Morosini, who had been hit in the face, were taken prisoner, along with two of Sir Alberto's relatives.

450 The Genoese went back to Genoa, bringing many captive Pisans with them, and gave thanks to Our Lord for this victory.²

451 After this great disaster which the Pisans suffered, they were greatly diminished, and no longer had the power to raise armies. The Genoese sent out Sir Benedetto Zaccaria with some galleys to the Pisans' port. There they knocked down the two towers of the harbour. Then Sir Benedetto embarked and departed, and left behind six galleys to guard the port and ensure that nothing could get in or out. The Pisans were in a very bad way. You should know that during this time, and at several other points, the Pisans lost 22,000 men-at-arms – of which 17,000 ended up in Genoese prisons – and fifty-eight galleys and more than fifty smaller vessels. All those who had sided with Pisa in war now took Genoa's side instead, in order to be able to sail the seas freely.

452 The Genoese armed once more and went to Piombino, on the coasts of Pisa, and came to land. The Pisans, however, sprang an ambush on them, and slew many Genoese, and captured others, among whom was a Genoese nobleman named Niccolò de Mari. The Pisans cut off his head in the sight of the Genoese from the galleys; in retaliation, the Genoese struck off the heads of three hundred Pisans whom they had captured.

453 After this, the men of Piombino armed two galleys and a *lein*, very well-built and swift, made for raiding. They left Piombino and set out on a raid against the Genoese, and injured the small villages along the Genoese coast. Whenever they were discovered they left and went to other waters. At this the commune of Genoa armed five galleys, which went after them, and found them in Tunisian waters, and gave them chase so closely that they caught up with them. They were chasing them

¹ This is a difficult and obscure passage. Minervini (p. 371, n. 213.2) believes that the passage is corrupt.

² The battle of Meloria was fought near Livorno in August of 1284.

while under sail, but the sail fell down from the Genoese galley because the mast broke, and so the Piombinese escaped.¹ This galley, which escaped as you have heard, belonged to a valiant Piombinese esquire² named Mailliant, whom I heard reporting to the master. And the captain of the five Genoese galleys was a valiant old man, but he lacked experience in naval warfare.

454 The *leins* of Piombino then went to Acre, in Syria. This Sir Orlando Ascheri returned to Genoa, and it was arranged that Sir Tommaso Spinola should go as messenger to Prince Bohemond VII of Tripoli, and a galley was prepared for him. Orlando's five galleys were to accompany him, because it was known that the Piombinese *leins* had come into Syria, and had done some harm to the Genoese.

So he went out from Genoa, and arrived at Paphos.³ Sir Tommaso Spinola left Orlando Ascheri and went alone in his galleys to Alexandria as an envoy to the sultan. Orlando Ascheri went straight to the port of Acre, arriving unexpectedly at night. Outside the port he found several *barques* of fishermen, Pisan *poulains*.⁴ On taking them they heard that the two *leins* of Piombino had come out from behind the mole at the Tower of Flies. He did not know where they should go, and they fled into the harbour, and the Genoese galleys pursued them right up to the Port of the Chain,⁵ and one galley ran aground. The *galliot*s put out into the water and dragged off the galley.

When the morning dawned (a Saturday, the Vigil of Pentecost⁶), they burned a great Pisan *nef* in the harbour of Acre. It belonged to Sir Raymond Drapier, and it was loaded with hazelnuts and other goods. The commander of the Templars, Theobald Gaudin, asked Orlando Ascheri for the poor fishermen whom he had captured, as a favour, and Ascheri sent them to him.

He left that same day, and went to celebrate Pentecost in Tyre. The master of the Templars was at Château Pèlerin, and Mailliant of Piombino with his *lein* was there, ostensibly in order to speak with the master of the Templars and to bid him farewell before going west. But he had something else in mind, for he and the other

¹ Galleys could be propelled by sails as well as oars – presumably the Genoese had put on more sail than the mast could take in order to increase speed.

² Or perhaps 'knight'.

³ On the west coast of Cyprus.

⁴ M. R. Morgan discusses the definition of the word *poulain* in 'The Meanings of Old French *Polain*, Latin *Pullanus*', in *Medium Aevum* 48 (1979), pp. 40–54. There is general agreement that it refers to a Latin Christian resident in and usually (but not necessarily) born in the Levant. Morgan argues that it 'was a distressing insult by Joinville's time; and by the fourteenth century was so clearly a term of abuse that it could not properly be used in a straight historical narrative' (p. 52). Its use in the text here, however, would seem to cast doubt on her conclusion, as there is no apparent pejorative implication beyond, perhaps, a statement about social class.

⁵ Part of the inner harbour at Acre, towards the southwest; the 'Port of the Chain' was actually the harbour office.

⁶ 1 June 1286.

two *leins* of his entourage were actually to go towards Alexandria, to meet Sir Tommaso Spinola, since he knew that he was there. When he realized that the Genoese galleys had come to Acre, he moved his galley under the walls of the castle and put his men on land. Next day he had word that my lord the master had gone to Tyre, and Mailliant went to Acre in his *lein*.

455 My lord the master came to Acre, and the Pisans and Venetians armed so many *leins* that there were eleven *leins* total, that is to say, three Piombinese and two Venetian *leins*, and six *tarides*, but the *tarides* had only one man per seat who rowed, and some soldiers. And they had more than forty armored *panfiles*, in which were crossbowmen, and the *tarides* were armored all around with planking and with shields linked together. And they flew a great banner of St. Mark, and had a Venetian for admiral, whose name I do not know.

456 And on the Saturday of the octave of Pentecost,¹ the Genoese galleys came to the Quai of the Marquis.² There were five of them, along with a great *saitie* of eighty oars,³ and two *columbets*. My lord the master came out to speak to them, and he entreated them to go back to Tyre. Sir Orlando Ascheri promised that he would go back, provided that his enemies did not come out against him, for it would be disgraceful to depart in that case. The master told Ascheri that the Pisans and Venetians had promised him not to come out of the port until he should have made a reply to them – but as he was speaking these words, the flotilla of the Pisans came out. Sir Orlando Ascheri went to meet them, making a small course change in order to strike those ships on the edges of the enemy formation, which the wind had scattered. When the Pisans saw him change course, they thought that he was fleeing, and they jeered mightily.

The Genoese went and got into the port so quickly that they were very easily armed before the Pisans returned. When they drew near, the Genoese attacked them with long lances and stones and crossbow bolts. They slew some of them, and many drowned. The Pisans came more and more towards the Venetian jetty. Those in the *tarides* were thrown into the water, and the Genoese cast a grapnel onto the *taride* which bore the Venetian standard, in order to tow it away. But Mailliant had an anchor dropped from the prow, and when the Genoese perceived that it was

¹ Presumably 8 June.

² In the text, *Cale dou Marquis*. A harbour in a small protected bay on the western shoreline of the suburb of Montmusard, named after Conrad of Montferrat, who had fortified it. It was not capable of harbouring large ships. See Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, 'The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291', *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), pp. 207–8, and Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du Royaume Latin de Jérusalem*, vol. II, Paris, 1970, pp. 44–45, 531 n. 83, and 546.

³ The *saitie* is called 'great' not because it was larger than the accompanying galleys (probably both with the usual complement of 108 oars), but rather because it was larger than most others of its class.

hard to pull, they cut the cable of the grapnel, and left it on the *taride* along with all its chain, which was later displayed before the Venetian loggia.

Sir Orlando Ascheri remained in port three days, during which time no one could come out on the water to do anything. Then the Genoese left and went to Tyre, and from there they returned to the port of Acre. He waited for the Pisans and then left and came back to Tyre.

457 Sir Tommaso Spinola discharged his embassy to the sultan and then left and came straight to Tripoli, where he delivered his message to the prince, and then came away. After he left the prince, the prince gave orders that when Sir Tommaso should return to take down his reply, he was to be seized and put in prison. But a knight who was in the prince's counsel notified my lord the master about this. The master gave me the letter which the knight had sent him, but with the knight's name excised. I sent it on to Sir Tommaso Spinola, without the name. Because of this letter, he refrained from returning to the prince.

458 And again, another time, the galleys of Sir Orlando Ascheri came [to Acre], and Sir Tommaso with him. There were six galleys, and they blockaded the port of Acre so that neither the Pisans nor the Venetians could come out. They captured a great Pisan *lein* which was arriving from Damietta. It ran aground on the beach, and the people escaped. Sir Tommaso Spinola talked to the master of the Templars at Casal Imbert, and then left and went to Tyre.

459 Again, Sir Orlando Ascheri came to port another time, and remained there four days, and said that he would not leave the port of Acre unless they drove the Piombinese out of the harbour.

460 The lords of Acre saw that the matter which he was pursuing was an outrage to Christianity, and dangerous, for the Saracens could follow their example. So they sent two Franciscans as messengers, asking him to leave the port.

His response was that he would depart at their request, provided that all the lords of Acre would give him a document stating that it was their wish that he should leave the port. They made him such a charter, sealed with the seals of the *bailli* who was representing the king, and of the Templars and of the Hospitallers. He left in this way, and never returned. No one could get rid of him otherwise, because he had swift galleys and came and went as he wished, and none of the Pisans wanted to board their galleys to make war any more.

And now I will say no more to you about this matter, for there is nothing more to say. I will tell you of another thing.

461 In this same year of 1287,¹ it so happened that the sultan of Babylon had a great quarrel and contention with a high emir named Sunqur al-Ashqar, who had

¹ The text reads, mistakenly, 1286.

been freed from the Tartars in exchange for the son of the king of Armenia, as I have told you above.¹ This emir left Babylon with a great quantity of men and came to Damascus, intending to subdue it to his power. But he could not. So he left and went to a castle which the Saracens held, named Saone,² which had formerly belonged to the prince. He took it and entrenched himself within it.

462 When the sultan heard that he had taken his castle, he sent out a great host from Babylon under one of his emirs named Turuntay.³ He led the entire army to Saone Castle and besieged it. Sunqur al-Ashqar, who did not have enough men to be able to sally out against him, surrendered the castle. Turuntay left and came to one of the prince's towns, called Latakia, and took it.⁴

463 And now I want to tell you about something that happened at Naples to the count of Artois in this same year [1287], on the twenty-fourth day of the month of June, the Vigil of St. John the Baptist.⁵

Forty-four galleys came from Messina to Naples, and the count of Artois (who was there representing the king⁶) armed and went out to meet them. He fought with those of Messina, and the battle lasted from mid-morning to evening.⁷ In the end the men of Naples were defeated, and many French gentlemen⁸ were captured or slain. The count of Brittany⁹ was captured, as was Sir John de Montfort, Count of Esquilac and of Montescaglioso, and Sir Guy de Montfort (who had cut off the head of Henry of Almain¹⁰), who died there in prison. And there were many others whom I cannot name, whose loss was sorely felt.

464 And in this same year of 1287, Prince Bohemond VII, Prince of Antioch and Count of Tripoli, passed from this world and died, on the nineteenth day of the month of October. There was no prince after him, because he had no children. The principality passed to one of his sisters, the wife of Sir Narjot of Toucy, who was the admiral of King Charles in Apulia at that time.¹¹

¹ See §366; the event took place in 1268.

² Arabic *Sahyun*; lost to the Christians in 1188.

³ Husam al-Din Turuntay.

⁴ Latakia had been the principality of Antioch's Mediterranean port.

⁵ St. John the Baptist's Day is June 24; the vigil of this day would have been the evening of June 23.

⁶ Robert II of Artois (d. 1302) was acting as regent for King Charles II in Naples.

⁷ Lit.: 'from tierce to vespers'. Tierce is about 9 am; vespers is at or after nightfall.

⁸ Lit.: 'gentlemen of the tongue [*langue*] of France'.

⁹ The author apparently refers not to the actual count of Brittany, John I, but rather to some lesser Breton lord or, as Minervini suggests, to the count of Brienne.

¹⁰ See above, §337 (where the author says Guy stabbed Henry with a *bordon*).

¹¹ See above, §385. The mother of Bohemond VII was Sibylla of Armenia, daughter of Hetoum I (see below, §466).

465 And in the year 1288 of Christ, a great misfortune befell Christianity in Syria, which I will tell you about.

466 It so happened that after the death of the afore-mentioned prince the knights [of Antioch-Tripoli] assembled and went to the princess (the mother of the said prince), and said to her that they heartily wished that it would please her to set some person to govern the city, because she was not able to manage it herself due to the bereavement she had suffered. She agreed to seek out such a person, someone who could govern them and the land well, and they told her that they were well-pleased.

467 Some days later, they learned that she was going to summon the bishop of Tortosa, with whom they had had conflict and contention and great disagreement.¹ And they found letters proving that the princess was bringing him in. They resolved among themselves not to tolerate this, and they went to the princess and showed her the letters, and told her that the bishop was their enemy, and that they would not have him to rule over them at this time. And they left and held a discussion, and there they founded a commune in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and they appointed captains and a provost, and whatever else they thought necessary. And they ran their own affairs.

To improve their position, they sent a messenger to Genoa, a notary called Pietro of Aubergamo, saying that they should send someone to Tripoli, and the knights in Tripoli would entrust all their government to him.

So the commune of Genoa sent them Sir Benedetto Zaccaria and five galleys, which came to Tripoli. They received him with great honour and great joy. When Zaccaria arrived at Tripoli, he found the master of the Templars and the masters of the Hospitallers and of the Germans,² and the Venetian *bailli*, who were encamped outside the gates of Tripoli in tents and pavilions. They had come to manage a treaty between the sister of the prince, Lady Lucy,³ and the men of Tripoli.

468 And now I will tell you how this Lady Lucy of Apulia...⁴

When the prince died, the news came to the West, and Sir Narjot of Toucy, King Charles' admiral, sent this lady, who was his spouse and the sister of the prince, to Acre, and told her to rely on the Hospital of St. John. The Hospitallers took her and supported her, and brought her to a castle called Nephin, which was within three leagues of Tripoli. They took the lady's part, on the grounds that she was the lady and heir of the prince. Several times the Hospitallers fought pitched

¹ See above, §§385 and 390. For an account of the commune of Tripoli, see Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, pp. 76–9.

² That is, the Teutonic Knights.

³ Or Lucianne.

⁴ The *RHC* indicates a lacuna here, though is no physical lacuna in the manuscript. It does seem very likely that there is something missing or mangled in the copy, however.

battles with the men of Tripoli, in which a number of brethren and others were slain.

The men of Tripoli sent a letter to the aforementioned lady, in which they informed her that it was not hidden from her, and that she must know perfectly well, that her brother the prince had committed outrages against them, and they also made clear to her how her father the prince and his grandfather were always treating them badly, both by outrageous conduct and by doing violence to knights and burgesses and other people.

They said that they were no longer willing to go on suffering what they and their ancestors, who had conquered the land of Tripoli, had suffered and endured; that in order to avoid remaining any longer in this condition, they had organized and founded a commune amongst themselves, to the honour of God and of Our Lady, from whom the commune drew its name; and that they had not done this to disinherit a soul, nor had they done it against Holy Church, but rather they had done it in order to maintain everyone in his proper rights and privileges. They said that they were prepared to receive the said lady, provided that she swore to the commune that she would sustain and maintain the said commune – and if she would not swear, they made perfectly plain to her that they would never allow her to enter Tripoli, at any time, even if they had to pawn or sell everything that they had, down to the *chemises* of their women and children. And at this point, they told the Genoese galleys to come in, for they were very unwilling to come to an accord with her. So the lords (the master of the Temple and of the Hospital and of the Germans, and the *bailli* of the Venetians) who had come there to try to make an agreement, left and went back to Acre without accomplishing anything.

469 Sir Benedetto and the commune of Tripoli made a compact with the commune of Genoa, and they promised to give and bestow all the rights due them, but at the outset they gave them, within the city of Tripoli, a section of streets which was to belong to them. And Madame Lucy came to Acre and Sir Benedetto Zaccaria went to Armenia.

470 The intention of Sir Bartholomew of Jubail was to have the daughter of the lord of Jubail for his son, and his daughter was to become the wife of the lord of Jubail, who was a child.¹ Many other freedoms were approved by the knights and the burgesses, too many to write down here. And they sent letters about these things to Madame Lucy, saying that if she wished to accede to their request and to confirm the Genoese in what they had given them, and only that, without giving them anything more, that they would receive her as lady, and not give the Genoese any other thing.

¹ Bartholomew was a leading figure in the commune. He was a member of a cadet branch of the Jubail family. See E. Rey, 'Les seigneurs de Giblet', *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 31 (1895), pp. 411–12.

471 The lady received this letter and took counsel on the contents of the letter, and the letter was passed from hand to hand, until someone copied it and sent it on to Sir Benedetto Zaccaria in Armenia.

472 Sir Benedetto received this letter en route to Tripoli. After he had read it and understood its tenor, he did not let on that he knew anything, but went on and entered Tripoli. He was there for a day, and then left and went to Tyre, and sent to Acre to Madame Lucy, saying that if she wished to come to deal with the issues of the commune with him that she should come to Tyre and receive his counsel. He made it clear to her that if she did not want to come, he would bring out fifty galleys from Genoa to Tripoli, and after that she would never be Lady [of Tripoli].

When the lady heard these instructions which Sir Benedetto Zaccaria had sent, she followed the counsel of the Hospitallers, who armed a *saitie* for her and took her to Tyre, where Brother Boniface of Calamandrana of the Hospital,¹ a great lord, came to her. They conferred with Sir Benedetto, and there was talk and discussion between them until they came to an accord pleasing to both parties, and they went on to Tripoli.

But I will leave off telling you about this action, and tell you of another relevant matter.

473 It then happened that, when the Genoese had come to Tripoli, as I have told you, two people went down to Alexandria to the sultan (I could tell you who they were if I were so inclined²), and spoke with the sultan, and showed him how Tripoli, by herself, without the Genoese, could quickly arm ten to fifteen *leins*: 'But now that the Genoese have them in their clutches, they will be able to arm thirty, for the Genoese will pour into Tripoli from all sides; and if they hold Tripoli, they will rule the waves, and it will happen that those who will come to Alexandria will be at their mercy, whether they are coming or going or inside the port. This thing bodes very ill for the merchants who operate in your kingdom'.

474 When the sultan heard this, it seemed to him that the threat was real, for it seemed likely to him that things would work out this way. So he set to work, as became apparent afterwards. Among other things, he had great ill-will towards Tripoli because the prince had been at Damascus when the Tartars took it, and had greatly humiliated the Saracens.³ So the sultan took counsel with his emirs, and decided to go to Tripoli. He prepared men-at-arms, and way-stations along the road.⁴

¹ Hospitaller commander of the Holy Land.

² Abu'l Mahasin says that Bartholomew Embriaco plotted with Qalawun to defeat the Genoese: see J. F. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, Quatrième partie: chroniques arabes, trans. & ed. Reinaud, Paris, 1829, p. 561.

³ See §303, above. See also Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, p. 31 and note 34.

⁴ Lit.: *camés*, prepositioned supply dumps along a route of advance.

But there was a very old emir, one of the four who governed *Paynimie*; he made my lord the master of the Temple aware of these developments. This emir was called the Emir *Silah*,¹ and he was accustomed to notify the master of the Temple of matters of interest to Christendom, when the sultan wished to injure Christianity in any manner. This contact cost the master fine presents each year, which he sent to him.

When the sultan had left for al-Salihiyah² with all his host, the master sent a man of his own household to the people of Tripoli, warning them that the sultan was coming down on them in Tripoli. They did not want to believe this, and said rather that the sultan was coming to take Nephin Castle. Others said ugly things about the master, to the effect that he wanted to alarm them so that they would need him as an intermediary between them and the sultan, so that it would seem as though the master had induced the Saracens to go back, but that in fact they were not coming at all.

When the sultan had moved on a little further, the master sent another messenger, a commanding figure. This was Brother Reddecoeur, a Spanish knight-brother.³ He made it plain to them that the sultan was coming. Still they wavered between doubt and belief. However, they decided to take action. Reddecoeur returned to Acre – and then the sultan arrived outside Tripoli.

My lord Amalric of Lusignan (brother of King Henry II of Jerusalem and of Cyprus, who was called the lord of Tyre and the constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem) came to Tripoli, bringing fine men-at-arms with him, knights and others. The Templar Marshal Geoffrey of Vendac also came there, as did Brother Peter of Moncada and Brother Reddecoeur, and many other Hospitaller brethren, and many knights and sergeants of the king of France.⁴ The Genoese had four galleys and the Venetians had two which arrived later. And the Pisans, who were enemies of the Genoese and of the men of Tripoli, also came. So there was an evil hatred constantly between them. Even the Hospitallers had great ill-will against the men of Tripoli, because of the war they had just had with them when they held Nephin.⁵ Likewise there were three great ladies: they were the wife of the prince,⁶ [the sister of the prince⁷,] and my lady of Tyre⁸ – she who had been

¹ Badr al-Din Bektash al-Fakhri. The emir silah or amir silah was in charge of weapons and some of the sultan's guard. See Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1986, p. 39.

² A town in Egypt en route to Syria.

³ Who had been Templar commander in Tripoli; see above, §409.

⁴ Probably members of the regiment of the King of France, left in the Holy Land by King Louis IX and maintained ever since by the French crown.

⁵ See above, §468.

⁶ More likely to have been Sibylla of Armenia (d. 1290), widow of Bohemond VI, rather than Margaret of Brienne-Beaumont, the widow of Bohemond VII.

⁷ Lucy of Antioch – the author (or the copyist) seems to have omitted her by accident.

⁸ Margaret of Lusignan; she was first cousin to Bohemond VI (their fathers were brothers).

wife of my lord John of Montfort, Lord of Toron, who had held the *bailliage* of Tripoli – as the closest heir apparent¹ until Lady Lucy arrived. And there were a great many people in the land; it was full of fine men, knights and burgesses and others.

475 Sultan Malik al-Mansur² besieged the city of Tripoli on Thursday, the seventeenth day of the month of March of this year [1289], and all those people, whose names I have just given you, came there to support it, some arriving before the siege began, and some after.

476 The sultan prepared his siege engines, both great and small, and erected *buches*³ outside the town, and set up *carabohas*,⁴ and attacked the countryside, and made mines underneath the ground, and got inside the first ring of defences.

477 The city was well-defended, with strong walls of stone. But the sultan attacked it and pressed the assault against the weakest place in the town (the Bishop's Tower), which was strongly defended. The siege engines battered it so thoroughly that it was completely knocked apart. Likewise, the Tower of the Hospitallers, which was new and sturdy, was split open so badly that a horse could pass through it. The sultan had so many men that at each emplacement there were twenty Saracen archers shooting, so that none of our crossbowmen dared show themselves to shoot either bows or crossbows. If they attempted to do so, they were immediately hit.

So the town was in a very bad state – and in the middle of this, the Venetian merchants, who had two galleys there, assembled to go to Armenia, for they saw that the city was on the point of falling. When Benedetto saw that the Venetians were retreating, he was afraid that they would take the galleys and leave him and his men stranded there. There would be no way of retreat if they needed it, and they would be lost. For fear of this, he and his men withdrew onto the galleys.

When the Saracens perceived that the town had few defenders, they pressed it hard, so that in the end the town was so weakened that the Saracens took it in a single assault, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of April of that year [1289], because it lacked adequate defenders, who one by one had abandoned the defence.

The three ladies who I have named escaped – the wife of the prince; the sister of the prince, Lady Lucy; and the Lady of Tyre, the wife of Sir John of Montfort – as did all the great lords whom I will list for you, including Sir Amalric, brother of King Henry II (who was called the lord of Tyre because after the deaths of Sir John

¹ That is, the closest heir to have appeared and claimed the regency – not necessarily the closest heir in absolute terms.

² Qalawun.

³ Protective structures made of wood; see Glossary.

⁴ Siege engines. A kind of trebuchet.

of Montfort and of his brother Sir Humphrey¹ the king had given Tyre to him and made him constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem). The marshal of the Temple also escaped, as did the commander of the Hospital, Brother Matthew of Clermont, and Sir John of Grailly, captain of the French regiment and seneschal of the kingdom of Jerusalem. All those who withdrew ... [lacuna²] ... poor men, among whom was killed Sir Bartholomew of Jubail, mayor and captain.³ Sir Henry of Jubail escaped. Brother Peter of Moncada, the Templar commander, was killed in the battle, as was William of Cardona, a Templar brother. Brother Reddecoeur was taken prisoner, as was Brother Hugh, son of the count of Ampurias and a Templar brother.⁴ And some of the brethren of the Hospital of St. John were killed or captured.

478 And so this great calamity befell the city of Tripoli, as I have told you, and the sultan went out and devastated the whole area, so that you could not have found a single house standing. This is the reason why the Saracens built a town in a place called Mont Pèlerin, which is less than a league from the sea above Tripoli.⁵ The town is called New Tripoli.

479 After the loss of Tripoli, King Henry II left Cyprus, arriving at Acre four days later. He concluded a truce between Syria and Cyprus and the sultan, and the king and the sultan swore oaths to each other. In August, the sultan returned to Babylon; King Henry returned to Cyprus on the twenty-sixth of September of this year [1289], leaving his brother Sir Amalric, Lord of Tyre, in Acre in his place.

Now I will tell you the way and the reason why Acre was taken by the Saracens.

480 It happened that, because of the fall of Tripoli, the pope sent twenty galleys to the aid of the city of Acre. These galleys were armed in Venice; their captain was a great nobleman of Venice named Jacopo Tiepolo, the son of Doge Lorenzo Tiepolo of Venice (who was dead).⁶ With him came a knight, a great landholder called Roux of Sully. A great number of common people of Italy also took the cross and came to Acre.

When these people came to Acre, the truce which the king had made with the sultan was well-maintained between the two parties. Poor Saracen peasants came into Acre carrying goods to sell, as they were accustomed to do. It happened one day, by the agency of the Enemy from Hell (who desires to arrange evil deeds

¹ Or Anfred.

² There may be a missing reference here to the fate of common people, who were massacred by the Muslims.

³ Of the commune of Tripoli; see above, §470.

⁴ Brother Hugh apparently was ransomed or otherwise released later; see §637, below.

⁵ The crusaders had built a fortress here during their siege of the city in the first decade of the twelfth century.

⁶ Lorenzo Tiepolo, Lord of Skyros and Skopelos, Doge of Venice 1268–75. Both Lorenzo's father and son were named Jacopo.

between good people), that the crusaders, who had come to do good and to arm themselves for the succour of the city of Acre, brought about its destruction, for one day they rushed through Acre, putting all the poor peasants who had brought goods (both wheat and other things) to sell in Acre to the sword. These were Saracens of the villages round about Acre. They also slew a number of bearded Syrians who were of the law of Greece (they killed them because of their beards, mistaking them for Saracens).¹

This was ill-done indeed, for Acre was taken by the Saracens because of it, as you shall hear.

481 When the peasants were killed, as you have heard, the news was reported to the sultan in Babylon, who was most infuriated by it, and raged against the people of Acre. The blood-soaked *chemises* of those who had been killed were carried to him. Since the sultan was planning to do grievous harm to the city of Acre [anyway], he immediately sent messages to the lords of Acre, to the effect that he had had a truce with the Christians, and that they had broken the truce and slain his Saracen peasants. And he demanded that they make amends and bring justice to those who had done this.

The lords of Acre went into council on the matter. Among the many words spoken among them, my lord the master of the Temple counselled that they should take those prisoners who were to die for their misdeeds, and who were in the royal prison and the prisons of the Templars, Hospitallers, Pisans and Venetians, and should say that they were the ones who had broken the truce and killed the Saracen peasants. 'And thus the sultan will subside, appeased, and we will turn him aside from his intentions to harm us by the justice which strikes them, since they are to die anyway'.

There were some who agreed with this idea, but many others who did not agree at all. In the end they took no action, and sent what seemed to them a suitable reply to the sultan. As far as I could hear, they told the sultan that these crusaders who had done the deed were foreigners from overseas, and not subject to their justice, and that they were unable to lay a finger on them.

The sultan took this answer badly, and gathered his forces and his siege engines, and also collected his host of armed men. He set up way-stations in the desert along his route, with encampments and supplies. And he sent one of his emirs named Taqsu² into the region near Acre, where he remained for four months, between Château Pèlerin³ and Caesarea, and they cut down wood with which they could make *buches* as wooden hoardings against the city of Acre. He said that the

¹ Franks customarily shaved; other male inhabitants of the Near East generally wore beards. 'Syrians of the law of Greece' means native, Arabic-speaking Orthodox Christians.

The cause of this riot is debated; it seems to have had something to do with an insult which a Muslim offered to a Christian lady, and which the newcomers objected to. See Runciman, *History of the Crusades*, III, p. 410.

² Rukn ad-Din Taqsu al-Mansuri, later strangled on orders of Khalil al-Ashraf.

³ Castle Pilgrim, or Athlit.

buches were to go to Babylon, so that the Christians would not realize [what he was really doing.] Meanwhile the Emir *Silah*,¹ the emir who was the friend of the master of the Temple, told the master that the sultan was making every preparation to come to besiege Acre.

The master of the Temple promptly reported this to all the lords of Acre. But they did not want to believe it.

482 When the month of October of the year of the Incarnation of Our Saviour Jesus Christ 1290 arrived, Sultan al-Malik al-Mansur left Babylon and came with all his forces to a place called al-Salihyah. Here a sickness overtook him and he died. I will explain the reason of his death to you in this book.

483 This sultan had raised a Turkish boy and had advanced him so far that except for the sultan, there was no one in *Paynimie* who was more powerful than he. He was called Turuntay.² Now it was said that because of his great power, he displayed such great pride that he thought that he would become sultan if the sultan died, and that therefore he went so far as to poison the sultan, in such a way that he was caught at it.

When the sultan was about to die, he summoned his eldest son and told him that he was dying, and that he charged him and beseeched him to carry out the undertaking which he had begun: to go to take Acre and to avenge the blood of the slain Saracens. The son promised him this. Then the sultan beseeched him to put Turuntay to death, because Turantay had killed him by poison. The son carried out everything that the father had charged him with, as you shall hear.

484 At this the sultan died, and he was buried. Immediately, that very night, his eldest son had this Turuntay taken. He had him thrown down before him, on his back, with his hands tightly tied, and he knelt on his chest and tore out his beard with his own hands, and said to him, 'Traitor, you have slain my father, and I shall put you to death'. And he had him taken and killed, and dismembered, without burial. Some people said that he had confessed to poisoning the sultan. However that may be, that was how he died.

The host of Babylon had not moved from the place where it had been, outside Babylon; the new sultan, son of him who was dead, who had himself called al-Malik al-Ashraf, saw the host prepared, and the way-stations along the roads, and set out to go to Acre with a great many men on horse and on foot. It was said that there were more than 70,000 horsemen and over 150,000 footmen or more. At Acre there were, counting women and men and children, only 30,000 to 40,000 people, among whom there were 700 to 800 horsemen, and of footmen, counting the crusaders, some 13,000.

¹ See above, §474.

² See §462, above.

The author's version differs from that given by Muslim historians, according to the *RHC*.

485 When those of Acre had heard that al-Malik al-Mansur was dead, as you have heard, they had rejoiced greatly, and thought that they had been saved. But they had not expected this other Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf to attack with his host in the first year of his lordship; they expressed great surprise at this. So they prepared their siege engines and other things which they needed, and manned their defences well, and began to raise the alarm, as one must do when there is an enemy.

All the men of Acre arranged for four messengers [to go to the sultan], along with a gift which they sent. The messengers were Sir Philip Mainebeuf, a knight of Acre, who knew the Saracen language very well; and a Templar brother, a knight named Bartholomew Pisan, who had been born in Cyprus; and a Hospitaller brother; and a scribe named George. They came before the sultan, but he refused the letters and the gift, and held the messengers in prison.

As it happened, before the messengers were sent to the sultan, the sultan sent a letter to the master of the Temple. The Saracen text was translated into French by my hand, and I took the translation and showed it to my lord the master and to all the lords of Acre; that is to say, to the patriarch and legate,¹ and to the master of the Hospital, Brother John of Villiers, and to the commander of the Germans² (whose master had fallen out of the good graces of the lords of Acre and had gone to live in Apulia³). And I showed it to the Pisan consul and to the Venetian *bailli*,⁴ who were not at all willing to accept the fact that the sultan was coming, until he had almost arrived, at which point the men of Acre sent him their messengers, as you have heard.

486 Now let me show you the tenor of the letter which the sultan sent to the master of the Temple. Notice the sort of salutation which the sultan sent in his letter, which went as follows:

487 'The Sultan of Sultans, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, al-Malik al-Ashraf, the Powerful, the Dreadful, the Scourge of Rebels, Hunter of Franks and Tartars and Armenians, Snatcher of Castles from the Hands of Miscreants, Lord of the Two Seas,⁵ Guardian of the Two Pilgrim Sites, Khalil al-Salihi,¹

¹ Nicholas of Hanapes; see §503, below.

² The Teutonic Knights.

³ Presumably a reference to Burchard of Schwanden (1283–90), who resigned his office entirely in late 1290 and joined the Hospitallers, eventually becoming commander of a house in Switzerland. He was replaced by Conrad of Feuchtwangen (1290–96). Burchard apparently belonged to that faction of the Teutonic Order which wished to concentrate on operations in the Holy Land; Conrad, to the faction which preferred to emphasize the Baltic (see Klaus Militzer, 'From the Holy Land to Prussia: the Teutonic Knights between Emperors and Popes and their Policies until 1309', in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky, Aldershot & Brookfield, 1999, pp. 79–81).

⁴ The Italian form is *bailio*.

⁵ The Red and the Mediterranean Seas. Mamluk sea power, however, was negligible.

'To the noble master of the Temple, the true and wise:

'Greetings and our good will! Because you have been a true man, so we send you advance notice of our intentions, and give you to understand that we are coming into your parts to right the wrongs that have been done. Therefore we do not want the community of Acre to send us any letters or presents [regarding this matter], for we will by no means receive them'.

488 Such was the command and the tenor of the letter of the sultan, as you have heard. Notwithstanding this, they did not leave off sending him messengers, as I have told you; they were arrested and thrown into prison in Babylon, where they later perished miserably.

489 The sultan came before Acre and besieged it on Thursday the fifth of April, in the year 1291 of the Incarnation of Christ, and he took it on the eighteenth day of May in the same year. Now you will learn how it happened.

490 The sultan pitched his tents very close together, from Toron all the way up to as-Sumairiya, so that the whole plain was covered with tents. The tent of the sultan himself, which is called the *dehliis*,² was on a small hill, where there was a lovely tower and gardens and vineyards of the Temple. This *dehliis* was entirely red, and its door opened facing the city of Acre. It was a custom of the sultans that everyone would know that the direction in which the door of the *dehliis* opened would be the direction in which he would take the road. They remained for eight days before Acre, doing nothing besides engaging in the occasional clash between our forces and theirs, in which a few were killed on either side.

At the end of the eight days, they brought up and emplaced their siege engines, and the stones that they threw weighed a *quintar* each.³ One of these engines was called *Haveben*,⁴ that is to say 'Furious', and it was set up in front of the Templars' section.⁵ Another, which fired on the Pisans' section, was called al-Mansuri,⁶ that is to say 'Victory'. Yet another, very large, whose name I do not know, fired on the

¹ These last two words were the name and surname of the Sultan Khalil al-Ashraf, whose father (Sultan Qalawun or Kelawan) had been the slave of al-Salih Ayyub, according to Professor Peter Holt (private communication).

² An Arabic word: 'vestibule' or 'entry room'. It also is applied to the tent which the sultan uses for a reception room.

³ 100 lbs.

⁴ An attempt to represent the Arabic word *Ghadban*, which means 'wrathful, furious'.

⁵ Each Order and important element in the town had responsibility for a section of the walls.

⁶ *Al-Mansuri* has the sense of 'aided or assisted by God'. The prince of Hama, Ismail Abu l-Fida, who participated in the siege of Acre, mentions this enormous catapult, which was brought from Krak des Chevaliers [Hisn al-Akrad] to Acre by the Hama contingent. He named it Al-Mansuri, which leads one to suspect that it had been constructed on the orders of Sultan Malik al-Mansur Qalawun. See *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, Francesco Gabrieli, trans. (Eng. trans. E. J. Costello), Dorset, 1989, 344–5.

Hospitallers' section; and a fourth engine fired on a great tower called the Accursed Tower,¹ which is at the second wall² and was in the custody of the king.

491 They set up great barricades and wicker screens, ringing the walls with them the first night, and the second night they moved them further in, and the third night further still, and they brought them so far forward that they came up to the lip of the *fosse*. Behind these screens the armed men dismounted from their horses, bows in hand. And if you are wondering how they were allowed to draw so near, the answer is that they could not be stopped, as I shall now explain.

These people had their horsemen fully armed, on armoured horses, and they stretched from one side of the city to the other, that is to say, from the beach on one side to the beach on the other.³ There were more than 15,000 of them, and they worked in four shifts a day, so that no one was overworked. None of our men went out against those who were behind the screens, for if they had, those who were behind [the first enemy line] would have defended them and barred the way, and so if it had happened that our men had gone out against them, the men on horseback would have defended them.⁴

So in the end the Muslims advanced to the edge of the *fosse*, as I have told you, and the men on horseback each carried four or five *buches* on the necks of their horses, and threw them down behind the screens. And when night came, they put them in front of the screens, and bound a cord on top, and the pile became like a wall that no engine could harm, though some of our medium engines shot and battered at it without effect. The stones merely rebounded into the *fosse*.

After this the enemy brought up their *carabohas*, small hand-operated Turkish devices with a high rate of fire which did more damage to our men than the larger engines did, since in the places where the *carabohas* were firing, no one dared to come out into the open. In front of the *carabohas* they had made the rampart so strong and so high that no one could strike or shoot at those who were firing [the *carabohas*]. And this situation lasted as long as they were mining, because a great emir named Sanjar al-Shuja'i⁵ commanded the enemy sector opposite a new little tower at the first walls in front of the Accursed Tower, which was called the Tower of the King. This Sanjar al-Shuja'i mined out towards the tower, and also mined one of the walls, called the King's Wall. They pressed so hard against it that our men⁶

¹ This tower was located in an exposed corner of the walls, looking towards the fields.

² Acre was defended by two lines of walls; by 'second wall' the author presumably means the inner wall. On the walls of Acre, see Benjamin Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', *Atiqot* 31 (1997), pp. 157–80. Kedar argues that Acre's wall enclosed an area much larger than has been thought.

³ Sanudo agrees: *a mari videlicet usque ad mare*, p. 231.

⁴ The original is as unwieldy as the translation.

⁵ An emir who took over the government of Syria after the fall of Acre.

⁶ The *RHC* indicates a lacuna here; neither Raynaud nor Minervini agree. The meaning seems to be that the defenders gave up and destroyed the tower themselves so that it could not be used against them.

set it on fire, and made it collapse.¹ The Saracens also made another mine against the Tower of the Countess of Blois (which she had made when she came to this side of the sea for her soul's sake²) and our men countermined against it, and fought back fiercely. But the Saracens brought fresh men each day, because they had so many troops.

One day our men took counsel and decided to make a general sally on all sides with horse and foot, to burn the *buches*. So my lord the master of the Temple and his men, and Sir John [of Grailly and Sir Otto] of Grandson and other knights went out one night from the Templars' sector (which ran from the seaside to the Gate of St. Lazarus³), and the master ordered a Provençal, who was viscount of the bourg of Acre,⁴ to set fire to the wooden *buches* of the great engine of the sultan. They went out that night, and came up to these *buches*, but the man who was supposed to hurl the Greek fire was afraid when he threw it, and it fell short and landed on the ground, where it burned out. The Saracens who were there were all killed, horsemen and footmen. But our men, both brethren⁵ and secular knights, went so far in among the tents that their horses got their legs tangled in the tent ropes and went sprawling, whereupon the Saracens slew them. In this way we lost eighteen horsemen that night, both brethren of the Temple and secular knights, though they did capture a number of Saracen shields and bucklers and trumpets and drums.⁶ Then my lord and his men turned back towards Acre.

On the way, they ran into a number of Saracens lying in ambush, all of whom they killed, for the moonlight was as bright as day and they could see them clearly. As I have already told you, the lord of Hama was in that sector, and he rallied his troops to him and hit us on the seashore with showers of javelins,⁷ wounding some of our men. But they dared not close with our men. You should know that they seemed to have close to two thousand mounted men [in this skirmish], but our side

¹ Lit.: 'fall all in a heap'.

² Jeanne of Châtillon, heiress of John of Châtillon, Count of Blois. The countess came to Acre in 1287 on pilgrimage, and returned to France in 1290, where she appears to have died in January 1292.

³ The St. Lazarus Gate was apparently one of the gates in the second or interior wall of the northern suburb of Montmusard; it opened onto the first wall, the defence of which was entrusted to the Templars and which was therefore called the *Custodia Templariorum*.

The layout of thirteenth-century Acre is a difficult subject, and there are various views on it. In addition to Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', see also David Jacoby, 'Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: urban layout and topography', *Studi medievali*, 3rd series, 20 (1979), pp. 1–45, and *idem*, 'Montmusard, Suburb of Crusader Acre: the first stage of its development', in *Outremer – Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem...*, ed. Kedar *et al.*, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 205–17. Both reprinted in Jacoby, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Variorum, 1989. The Israeli Antiquities Authority excavations on the site continue to reveal new aspects of the city.

⁴ The meaning of this title is unclear. See Minervini, pp. 373–4, n. 255.7.

⁵ I.e., members of the military orders.

⁶ See Abu l-Fida in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 345. He agrees that the Hama contingent was on the extreme right wing, on the north.

⁷ Or possibly arrows; some type of missile weapon: *pilès*.

had – including knights and other horsemen, and brethren of the military orders, and *valés*, and turcoples – scarcely three hundred.

On the other sectors where action had been ordered, nothing was done, because the Saracens perceived the activity and were on guard, and attacked the Christians so fiercely that they turned back without accomplishing anything.

492 Later on it was decided that all the lords and the forces of Acre should make a sortie in the middle of the night from the Gate of St. Anthony, to fall suddenly on the Saracens. This was decided so secretly that no one knew of it until the command 'To horse!' was given. At the time when our men mounted up and sallied forth from the Gate of St. Anthony, the moon was not shining at all, but was obscured. The Saracens were forewarned, and illuminated the scene with torches so that it seemed to be day along their lines. A division so large that it contained well-nigh 10,000 men came against our men and raked them so fiercely with javelins¹ that it seemed to be raining. Our men could not endure this and so withdrew into the city, many of the horsemen being wounded.

Our people in the city of Acre were thus in a sorry condition. But they received news that King Henry was about to come from Cyprus with significant assistance, and they looked for him daily.

493 The King had summoned his men in Cyprus, and assembled them and left from Famagusta, and arrived at Acre on the fourth of May. The city was in dire straits because, as I have told you, the [outer] wall was mined and the tower which had been mined had been burned.

But all the same they took great comfort in the arrival of these men, and that of the King a few days later, so they sent messengers to the sultan: Sir William of Villiers, a knight, and William of Caffran, a man from the household of the master of the Temple. The sultan came out from his *dehlis* before the gate of the city known as the Gate of the Legate², and there was a ceasefire on both sides. The messengers went out unarmed, and they came before the sultan, who was within a small tent.

When the messengers had thrice saluted him on their knees, he approached them and said, 'Have you brought me the keys of the city, then?' The messengers replied that the city could not be surrendered so easily, but that they had come to him to ask for some measure of mercy for the poor people.

¹ Again, *pilès*.

² Probably the same as the Tower of the Patriarch, which is marked on Sanudo's map (in the thirteenth century most patriarchs had legatine powers (as *legati nati*) which they exercised except when a *legatus a latere* was present in the Holy Land). Müller-Wiener's map in Alex Kesten, *The Old City of Acre: re-examination report* 1993, Acre, 1993, map D (after p. 88), however, shows the Gate of the Legate as being on the far southeast side, next the harbour, and as being the same thing as the Bridge Tower (*Turris pontis*). Continuing excavations of thirteenth-century Acre may clarify the problem.

At this the sultan said to them, 'I will give you this much grace, that you cede me the bare stones [of the city] alone, and carry off everything else, and go forth and leave the place. I will do this for your king, who has come here and who is a youth, just as I might have been. But I will do nothing more for you'.

Then the messengers said to him that this could not be, 'because the people overseas would hold us to be traitors', at which he said, 'Then you should go away, for I shall offer nothing more!'

As he spoke these words, there was a siege engine which the crusaders were working from the Gate of the Legate, and it fired by I know not what accident, and the stone came so near the tent where the sultan and the messengers were, that the sultan (in an act of youthful bravado, not meaning serious harm) leaped to his feet, and laying his hand on his sword, he drew it out a palm's length, and said, 'Ah! You filthy¹ swine, what prevents me from striking off your heads?'

At this, Sanjar al-Shuja'i said to him, 'Sir, God forbid that you should foul the iron of your sword with the blood of these pigs! Those who fired the siege engine are traitors, but you should let these men go, for they are here with you'. And so the messengers returned to Acre, and thereupon the two sides began again their labors, firing mangonels at one another, and doing the things that are usually done between enemies.

494 The new tower, which they called the Tower of the King, was so badly undermined that the front face fell in a heap into the fosse, so that it was impossible to pass over the top of the stones. Seeing this, the Saracens made small sacks of hemp cloth and filled them with sand. Every man carried one of these sacks on the neck of his horse and tossed it to the Saracens who were there behind the *buches* at that point. Then when night fell, they took the sacks and spread them across the top of the stones, and smoothed them out like a roadway, and the next day (Wednesday) they came across on the sacks at Vespers, and took the tower. Half of the vault was still intact and in one piece on the side of the town,² and there were a great many of our men defending the tower, but the defence was all for nothing, because the Saracens took the tower anyway, and planted the ensign of the sultan on it. At this, we loaded the siege engines and aimed them at the tower and fired, and killed some of the Saracens, but not enough to drive them back.³

When our men saw that the tower was taken, they built a structure out of leather-covered wood, called a *chat*, and put men inside it, so that the Saracens who had taken the tower might not advance further.

495 When the tower had thus fallen, as I have explained, everyone was thoroughly demoralized, and began increasingly to send their women and children down to the ships. But on the next day, Thursday, the weather was very bad, and the sea ran so

¹ Lit.: 'contemptible'.

² The author appears to be saying that although the façade of the tower had collapsed, the back wall was still standing and provided some defence.

³ Lit.: 'but all the same they did not abandon it'.

high that the women and children who had boarded the ships were unable to stay there, and they disembarked and returned to their homes.¹

496 Before dawn on the next day, Friday, a drum began a powerful stroke, and at the sound of this drum, which had a horrible and mighty voice,² the Saracens assailed the city of Acre upon all sides. The place where they entered first was by the Accursed Tower, which they had already taken. I shall tell you the way in which they came.

497 They came on afoot, so many that they were without number. In the van came men carrying great tall shields, and after them came men who cast Greek fire, and after them came men who hurled javelins³ and shot feathered arrows in such a thick cloud that they seemed to fall like rain from the heavens. Our men who were inside the *chat* abandoned it. At this, the Saracens, whom I have mentioned, took two routes, since they were between the two walls of the city – that is to say, between the first walls and ditches, which were called the barbican, and the great [inner] walls and ditches of the city proper. Some of them entered by a gate of that great tower called the Accursed Tower, and moved towards San Romano,⁴ where the Pisans had their great engines. The others kept to the road, going to St. Anthony's Gate.⁵

498 When the master of the Temple, who was at his *Auberge* with the men who were defending it,⁶ heard the drum beating, he realized that the Saracens were launching some assault. The master gathered ten or twelve brethren and his own

¹ Acre has a rather poor harbour (though it is one of the best in the area), and large ships had to remain outside the port where they would have been subject to the full force of high seas. Moreover, the harbour would have been within range of the mangonels, so that the ships would have had to stand off shore out of range.

On the subject of Acre's harbour, see for example the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, translated by Helen Nicholson as *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, Ashgate, 1997, p. 83: 'Its [Acre's] harbour is not as good as it should be. It often fails to protect vessels wintering there so that they are smashed to pieces, because the outcrop of rock which runs along parallel to the shore is too low to break the force of waves in a storm'.

² The effect of the drums (other accounts indicate that many drums were beaten) was reported on both sides: Abu l-Mahasin says that 'they beat their drums, creating a terrible, terrifying noise...' (Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 347).

³ Lit.: *pilès*.

⁴ Sanudo says they fanned out towards the St. Nicholas Gate and the Gate of the Legate, which is more or less compatible with the author's description. San Romano was in the angle directly behind the Accursed Tower, which was apparently on the inner wall of the city. The topography of thirteenth-century Acre is by no means certain yet, and various scholars have presented contradictory plans of the city, as noted above (see §491).

⁵ Meaning, perhaps, that they kept between the walls.

⁶ This is probably the *burgus Templi* in Montmusard, rather than the main Templar compound in old Acre.

household troops¹ and headed for the St. Anthony Gate, right between the two walls.²

On the way he passed the Hospitaller sector,³ and he summoned the master of the Hospital to join him. The Hospitaller master in turn collected some of his brethren, and some knights of Cyprus and of the Holy Land, and some footmen. They moved towards the St. Anthony Gate, where they found the Saracens coming in on foot, and they counter-attacked them.

But it was all to no effect, as I have explained, for there were too many Saracens. When the two masters of the Temple and the Hospital arrived there and went into combat, it seemed as if they hurled themselves against a stone wall. Those of the enemy who were hurling Greek fire hurled it so often and so thickly that there was so much smoke that one man could scarcely see another. Amongst the smoke, archers shot feathered arrows so densely that our men and mounts were terribly hurt.

It happened that one poor English *valé* was so badly hit by the Greek fire which the Saracens were hurling that his surcoat burst into flames. There was no one to help him, and so his face was burned, and then his whole body, and he burned as if he had been a cauldron of pitch, and he died there. He was on foot when this happened, because his mount had been slain under him.⁴

The Saracens hung back for a bit, and then raised their shields and moved forward a little ways, and when men charged down on them, they straightway fixed all their shields and drew up. They did not cease from their work of hurling javelins and casting Greek fire all day. This conflict, this [particular] confused struggle, lasted up until mid-morning.⁵

In this place a great misfortune befell, by which those Saracens who had come into the city, as I have said, were able to enter more easily and quickly, and by which our people were greatly disheartened. The occasion was this: a javelin came at the master of the Temple, just as he raised his left hand. He had no shield save his spear⁶ in his right hand. The javelin struck him under the armpit, and the shaft

¹ On the household allowed to the master of the Templars, see for example *The Rule of the Templars*, J. Upton-Ward, trans., p. 38, §77–9.

² The St. Anthony Gate appears to have been in Montmusard, at the juncture of the walls of Montmusard and of Acre, or else slightly north, along the wall of Montmusard proper. Some authorities put it on the outer wall (e.g., Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, trans. Maxwell Brownjohn, *Castles of the Crusaders*, London, 1966, p. 73), but this seems doubtful. Sanudo places it on the inner wall, which makes this passage and that below make much more sense (cf. the map reproduced as part of *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, foreword by Joshua Prawer, Toronto, 1972, p. xi). See also the maps reproduced in Jacoby, 'Montmusard', p. 209; on these maps there is a line drawn between the inner and outer walls, which might indicate that there was a connecting wall in which the St. Anthony Gate stood.

³ This apparently refers to the section of the walls of Montmusard in Hospitaller custody.

⁴ The precision of this and other vignettes from the fall of the city makes it seem highly likely that the author was an eyewitness to them.

⁵ Lit.: 'tierce'.

⁶ Or, 'dart'.

sank into his body a palm's-length; it came in through the gap where the plates of the armor were not joined. This was not his proper armor, but rather light armor for putting on hastily at an alarm.

When he felt himself mortally wounded, he turned to go. Some of the defenders thought that he was retiring because he wanted to save himself. The standard-bearer saw him go, and fell in behind him, and then all his household followed as well. After he had gone some way, twenty crusaders from the Vallo di Spoleto saw him withdrawing, and they called to him, 'Oh for God's sake, Sir, don't leave, or the city will fall at once!' And he cried out to them in a loud voice, so that everyone could hear him: 'My lords, I can do no more, for I am killed; see the wound here!'

And then we saw the javelin stuck in his body, and as he spoke he dropped the spear on the ground, and his head slumped to one side.¹ He started to fall from his horse, but those of his household sprang down from their horses and supported him and took him off, and laid him on a shield that they found cast off there, a tall, broad buckler. They carried him off toward the St. Anthony Gate, but found it closed;² instead, they found a small door which had a bridge leading from the *fosse* into the residence of the Lady Maria of Antioch, which had previously belonged to Sir James of La Mandelée.³

There his household removed his armor, cutting his *cuirasse* off at the shoulders, for they could do nothing else because of the wound he had taken. Then they put him, still in his *epaulieres*, under a blanket, and took him towards the seashore, which is to say, on the beach which is between the abbatoir where they slaughter beasts and the house of the lord of Tyre. There they heard a cry from in front of the Tower of the Legate, that the Saracens were there, so some of the household leapt into the sea to try to reach two *barques* that were there – there were only those two, because the sea was so stormy and the waves were so great that the *barques* were unable to cope with them – and many of the men were lost because of this. Other members of his household carried him to the Temple fortress with the aid of other men, and they laid him within the house – not going in by the gate, which they did not want to open, but taking him by way of a courtyard where they piled manure.

He lived all that day without saying a word, for since he had been taken down from his horse he had not spoken, save only a word to those in the Temple; when he heard the clamor of men fleeing death, he wanted to know what was happening. They told him that men were fighting, and he commanded that they should leave him in peace.

¹ Lit.: 'turned the neck', *torsa le col*.

² This would seem to imply that the St. Anthony Gate was on the inner wall, which is where Marino Sanudo's map puts it, as mentioned above.

³ Or 'Amigdala'. James had come to prominence in the first half of the thirteenth century as the husband of one of Joscelin III of Edessa's co-heiresses.

He did not speak again, but gave up his soul to God. He was buried before his tabernacle, which was the altar where they said Mass. And God has his soul – but what great harm was caused by his death!

499 Now I will tell you what happened next.

As men learned what had happened, and saw the master carried off, they began one by one to abandon their posts and flee. For the Saracens, as I have said, had come through the Accursed Tower, and went straight through San Romano, and set fire to the great engine of the Pisans, and went down the straight road to the Germans¹ and took St. Leonard, and everyone they encountered they put to the sword. Other Saracens assaulted the Tower of the Legate, which was on the sea. From the edge of the sea to the foot of the tower, the Saracens prised off a lattice-work which had bars and points sticking out so that horses could not get through there. Then a great number of mounted Saracens came in. Sir John of Grailly and Sir Otto of Grandson and the men of the king of France² put up a fierce defence, so that there were many wounded and dead. But Sir John of Grailly and Sir Otto of Grandson were unable to withstand the Saracen pressure, and they withdrew from the place and saved themselves, Sir John of Grailly being wounded.

500 When Henry, King of Jerusalem and Cyprus, saw this disaster, he came to the master of the Hospital, and they perceived plainly that neither counsel nor reinforcement were of any further value, so they saved themselves and boarded their galleys.

501 Know that that day was terrible to behold. The ladies and the burgesses and the cloistered maidens and other lesser folk came fleeing through the streets, their children in their arms, weeping and despairing, and fleeing to the sailors to save them from death.³ And when the Saracens came across them, one seized the mother and another the child, and carried them from place to place, and separated them from each other. Once there was a quarrel between two Saracens over a woman and she was killed by them; and another time a woman was led away captive, and the infant at her breast was thrown to the ground where the horses trampled on it, slaying it thus. There were some women who were pregnant and who were caught in the press of the flight and suffocated and died, and the life in her womb died with her.⁴ And there were some women whose husband or child

¹ I.e., the Teutonic Knights' convent.

² I.e., the French regiment left by Louis IX and led for a time by Geoffrey of Sergines. By this time John of Grailly was commander.

³ The *Chronicle of Muntaner* makes reference to the chaos of the flight from the doomed city: see Ramon Muntaner (trans. Lady Goodenough), *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, vol. II, Hakluyt Society, 1921, repr. 1991, ch. 194, p. 468.

⁴ Lit.: 'and the creature in her body also'. The ungrammatical change from plural to singular is in the text.

was lying ill or wounded by an arrow at their lodging; they left them alone and fled, and the Saracens slew them all.

You should know that the Saracens set fire to the siege engines and to the *garites*, so that the whole land was lit up by the flames. The greater part of the people, men and women and children, more than ten thousand persons,¹ sought refuge within the Temple [compound], for it was the strongest place in the city. It occupied a large site on the sea, like a castle; it had at its entry a tall, strong tower,² and the wall was thick, twenty-eight feet wide. On each corner of the tower was a turret, and upon each turret was a gilded lion *passant*,³ as big as a donkey, which cost – the four lions and the gold and the labour together – fifteen hundred saracenate bezants, and it was a most magnificent thing to see. And on the other corner,⁴ towards the Pisan Quarter, there was another tower, and near this tower above the Street of St. Anne, there was a most noble palace which belonged to the master. Opposite this, the house of the nuns of St. Anne had a high tower in which were bells,⁵ and there was a most noble and tall church.⁶

The Templar fortress also had another very old tower, on the sea, which Saladin had built a hundred years before, in which the Templars kept their treasure; it was so close to the sea that the waves broke against it.⁷ And there were other lovely dwellings within the Temple compound, most noble ones of which I make no mention now.

502 The Hospital of St. John had good quarters with towers and a very lovely palace,⁸ but it was in the middle of the city; they had another location, which was

¹ The Temple was a very large complex. Whether it was large enough to accommodate this number, and whether the number is accurate, is open to question. Later on the author says that the sultan sent a party of 400 horsemen to negotiate the surrender of the Templar compound (below, §507).

² Marino Sanudo's map of Acre (see above) draws the symbol for the main Templar compound with a prominent entry tower, just as the author describes.

³ A heraldic term, denoting a lion walking towards the viewer's left, with its right forepaw raised.

⁴ Evidently meaning the other corner from the great tower.

⁵ The ringing of bells distinguished Latin Christians from Eastern Orthodox Christians and from Muslims. As mentioned above (§303), one of the conditions imposed on conquered Christians by Muslims was a prohibition on bell-ringing (see Bat Ye'or, *The Dhimmis*, pp. 59–60).

⁶ Possibly St. Andrew's, parts of which are still standing and have been identified recently by Eliezer and Edna Stern in Acre. See the reproduction of a seventeenth-century drawing in Kedar, 'The Outer Walls of Frankish Acre', *Atiqot* 31 (1997), p. 165, and another seventeenth-century drawing by Cornelis de Bruyn, reproduced in Runciman, *History of the Crusades* III, Cambridge, 1954, plate X.

⁷ A considerable part of the Templar compound has been lost to the sea in subsequent centuries; this tower was almost certainly on the far southwestern edge, and its site is now under water.

⁸ Recent excavations in Acre have revealed that the Hospitallers did possess a magnificent structure which could justly be called a palace.

called the *Auberge*,¹ in which was a most noble palace, very long and very lovely, a hundred and fifty *canes*² long, with a great enclosed courtyard. The coronation festivities for King Henry had been held there, as I have explained to you,³ and the marshal and the convent of the Hospital were quartered there.⁴

503 The Germans⁵ also had a very lovely residence and a most noble tower, which was as large and as lovely as that of the Temple, and the Pisans and Venetians had very good quarters with towers and palaces, and the city was full of, and well furnished with, other noble houses of knights and burgesses, and indeed there was a great and lovely castle, but it lacked a moat, and none of it was built into the outer walls of the city.⁶ I will say no more about it, but it was one of the noble and lovely cities of the world. It was the seaport, the landfall, for all those who came to Syria, and its loss did great harm.

And now I want to go back to complete my story.

Everyone who could manage to do so came to the Temple, gathering inside. The king and the others who had retreated onto the galleys and other ships moved off and set sail, as did the *tarides* and *nefs* of the Venetian squadron. The good *prud'homme*, the patriarch and legate, Brother Nicholas, withdrew to a *nef* of the Venetians. A sailor seized him by the hand, but he slipped and fell into the sea and was drowned. No one knows if he who took him by the hand let him go because he had put his valuables on that ship, or if he slipped from his hand because he could not hold onto him, but however it happened, the *prud'homme* was drowned, as I said.⁷

When all the *leins* had put on sail, those of the Temple who had gathered there gave a great cry,⁸ and the ships cast off and made for Cyprus, and those good men who were then come into the Temple were left to their fate, as you have heard. You should know that there were six armed *leins* of the Church, and royal galleys, and two Genoese galleys (who did much good as everyone knows, for they collected

¹ See Jonathan Riley-Smith, ed., *Atlas of the Crusades*, New York & Oxford, 1991, pp. 102–3. The *Auberge* was probably in Montmusard.

² Over 900 feet or about 300 metres long; a *cane* was roughly six feet (two metres).

³ Above, §439.

⁴ The author may be confusing aspects of the two properties.

⁵ I.e., the Teutonic Knights.

⁶ The royal castle was a little to the east of the Hospitaller complex, situated on the original north wall of Acre. But when the northern suburb of Montmusard was fortified around 1200, the castle was no longer on an external wall, which appears to be the author's point.

⁷ The patriarch was Nicholas of Hanapes, O.P. See Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States*, pp. 278–9. Hamilton follows the 'Templar' in describing Nicholas' death, but the *Excidio urbis Acconis* says that the patriarch allowed too many refugees to board his ship, it capsized, and they and he were drowned (E. Martène and U. Durand, eds., *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum...amplissima collectio*, vol. V, Paris, 1724, col. 782).

⁸ It is unclear whether this was a farewell salute or a cry of terrible dismay from those left behind.

the men from the seashore and put them on the *nefs* and on the other *leins*). The commander of these two galleys was a Genoese named Andrea Peleau.¹

504 Now let me tell you of the fate of the city of Tyre, which was one of the strongest cities in the world. In it there was a *bailli* named Sir Adam of Caffran, acting on behalf of the king. As soon as he saw the sailing ships that had left Acre, he and all the other knights and the wealthy people cleared out and abandoned the city of Tyre. The poor people remained behind and were taken prisoner, men and women and children who had no ships on which they might withdraw.

505 Now we shall tell you about the people who were within the Temple. There was the marshal, Peter of Sevrey, and some brethren of the Templars, and some other brethren who lay wounded within, and some secular knights, and women and burgesses and many other people. Among those who fell back on the Temple that day was Brother Matthew of Clermont, Marshal of the Hospital of St. John.² He saw the master of the Temple, who was dead as I have told you, and then returned to the battle, gathering around him all his brethren,³ for he would not abandon any of them, and some of the Templars went with him, and they came to a square of the Genoese quarter which was empty of houses, and there Matthew plunged into combat. He and his companions slew many Saracens, but in the end he was slain, him and the others, like true knights and valiant, and good Christians. May God preserve their souls!

506 Know, fair lords, that no one could adequately recount the tears and grief of that day. The pitiful sight of the little children, tumbled about and disemboweled as the horses trampled them...! There is no man in the world who has so very hard a heart that he would not have wept to see the slaughter. And I am sure that all Christian people who saw these things that day wept, because even some of the Saracens, as we learned afterwards, had pity on these victims and wept.⁴

507 The Temple held out for ten days [after the fall of the city itself]. The sultan parlayed with those who were in the Temple, to see if they wished to surrender themselves to his safe-conduct, and they sent word back that they would surrender if he should undertake conduct them to safety wherever they wished to go. The sultan sent a message back agreeing, and dispatched an emir to those in the Temple. The emir brought 400 horsemen inside the compound with him; these men

¹ Or Andriolus Pellatus, which is the form given by Minervini (p. 374, n. 267.6). See also below, §542.

² Matthew had fought at the fall of Tripoli two years early (§477).

³ I.e., the Hospitaller knights.

⁴ The slaughter was so great that some of the Muslims seemed to feel it needed defending. Abu l-Mahasin argues that Al-Ashraf massacred the population of Acre in revenge for Richard I's execution of some 1500–2500 prisoners in 1191 (Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 349).

saw the great number of refugees, and desired to seize the women¹ who pleased them, to dishonour them. But the Christians found this conduct intolerable, drew their weapons, and flung themselves upon the Saracens, slaying them all and beheading them, so that none escaped alive.² Then the Christians set themselves determinedly to defend their³ bodies to the death.

The sultan was most displeased by this turn of events, but he did not show it. He sent again, saying that he was knew quite well that the folly of his men had been their deaths, because of the outrages they had committed, that he did not hold this against the Christians, and that they could come out securely, trusting in his word. The marshal of the Temple, a great *prud'homme* from Burgundy, whose name was Peter of Sevrey (whom I have mentioned above to you), trusted the sultan, and came out to him. Some wounded brethren remained in the tower.

508 Thereupon, when the sultan had the marshal and the men of the Temple in his power, he had the heads of all the brethren and of all the other men cut off. When the brethren who were still within the tower, who were not so ill as to be unable to fight, heard that the marshal and the others had been beheaded, they set themselves to resist.

At this the Saracens began to mine the tower – they dug a mine and then shored it up. Thereupon those within the tower surrendered, but the Saracens entered the tower with so many men that the supports in the mine gave way, and the tower collapsed, and those brethren of the Temple and the Saracens who were inside were killed. Moreover, when the tower collapsed, it fell outwards towards the street, and crushed more than two thousand mounted Turks.⁴

And so this city of Acre was taken, abandoned, on Friday the eighteenth day of May in the said year [of 1291], and the Temple compound ten days later, in the manner which I have described to you.

¹ According to the *De excidio urbis Acconis* (col. 782), the soldiers molested both women and boys. Arabic sources agree that both women and boys were sexually assaulted: see Abu l-Mahasin in Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 347; and see D. P. Little, 'The Fall of Akka in 690/1291: the Muslim version', in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem & Leiden, 1986, p. 175, citing Al-Yunini.

² Christian sources generally agree that all of the molesters were killed. This may not have quite been the case: one small band of ten Muslims seems to have fought off the Christians and escaped by jumping off the walls into the sea. See D. P. Little, 'The Fall of Akka', p. 176, citing an anonymous Muslim soldier's personal account in Arabic in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlükensultane*, ed. K. V. Zettersteen, Leiden, 1919, p. 2. It is possible that that account is describing another incident, however.

³ I.e., the women and boys.

⁴ A difficult number to believe. More likely, 'a great number'. It seems unlikely that the author was an eyewitness to the events of §507–8; if he had not been evacuated on or shortly after the 18th, it is unlikely that he would have survived to recount the tale. Sections 507–8 lack the immediate quality of the preceding account. It seems likely that the author escaped with Theobald Gaudin and the last of the Templars (see below, §509).

509 Now I shall tell you about the town of Sidon, which belonged to the Templars.¹

When the Grand Commander of the Land² saw that Master William of Beaujeu was dead, he and some other brethren escaped in ships and made straight for Sidon, and took up a position in the castle on the sea. They discovered that all the people had gone onto an island where there was a mill. This commander of the Land was elected master of the Temple by the brethren whom he had brought with him.

Meanwhile, the sultan sent one of his emirs, Sanjar al-Shuja'i, who besieged the castle on the sea with siege engines, and harassed them in every possible way. He took the city of Sidon, for the inhabitants had abandoned it and gone out onto the island (and from the island they went on to Cyprus).

510 The new master was named Theobald Gaudin. He saw his position assaulted, and thought that he ought not to begin his term of office by abandoning the castle. He took counsel with his brethren, and with their consent he went off to Cyprus, promising them that he should send them relief. But when he reached Cyprus, he went about the business of preparing aid for them in such an unenthusiastic way that the brethren of the Temple who were already in Cyprus, friends of the brethren who were still in Sidon, sent word to them that they thought they should abandon it entirely, because the master showed no sign of sending them any aid at all.

When the brethren in the castle heard this, they were most disheartened. On the other side, the Saracens had pursued them and fired arrows at them and came along the sand which forms the land from the sea shore as far as the wall of the castle and stood on foot beneath it and they covered all the sea.³

At this, the brethren took counsel among themselves to abandon the place and go to Cyprus, for they also suspected that the Saracens had sent out armed *leins* from Latakia so that they would not be able to leave even if they wanted to. For this reason they left so noiselessly one night that the Saracens did not even realize they were gone until the morning of the next day.

511 When Sidon had been thus abandoned, as I have explained to you, the Saracens took the castle and knocked it down into a heap.⁴

¹ It had been sold to the Templars by its lord, Julian of Sidon, in 1260 (see above, §260). For a plan of Sidon, see Denys Pringle, *Secular Buildings in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 94. The sea castle was on an island joined to the mainland by a narrow causeway. Presumably the island with the mill is part of the natural chain of rocks which forms the outer edge of the harbour.

² Theobald Gaudin (see below, §510). The Commander of the Land of Jerusalem, sometimes referred to as Grand Commander, one of the Order's highest officers; see *The Rule of the Templars*, J. Upton-Ward, trans., pp. 40 (§83), 41 (§87), 42 (§93) etc.

³ A difficult passage; the text seems garbled. See Minervini's comments (p. 374, n. 274.1).

⁴ The sea castle was not completely destroyed, since a considerable portion of it still survives.

While Sanjar al-Shuja'i was at Sidon, the men of Beirut sent a message to him, asking him to tell them what his intentions were towards them. He replied that they had a good truce with the sultan, and that they would be left in peace, but that they should hold a celebration over the capture of Sidon, and that when he was passing by them on the way back to Damascus, they should come out and meet with him. And as it happened, when this Sanjar al-Shuja'i left Sidon, he passed by Beirut, and they came out of the castle at Beirut to meet him and to pay their respects, since he had instructed them to, as you have heard.

But he, like a scoundrel, had them seized, and took the city and the castle, and knocked down the walls of the city and then razed the castle to the ground.

512 Now you must know that when those in Château Pèlerin saw that all was lost, they perceived clearly that they no longer had the ability to defend the castle, so they abandoned it and went to the Isle of Cyprus, and the Saracens completed their destruction of the land.

513 Thus, as you have been able to learn, was all of Syria lost, taken and destroyed by the Saracens, although there were many places taken earlier that I have described for you. This time everything was lost, so that altogether the Christians held not so much as a palm's breadth of land in Syria.

514 Nearby Syria is an isle called Cyprus, most rich and good and full of all sorts of growing things. There were many lovely towns on this isle which I shall list for you.

The city where the knights dwell, chief among them all, is called Nicosia; it is inland. There is another, which is on the seacoast, called Famagusta; and another on the coast called Limassol; another on the coast called Paphos; and another on the coast, fortified, with its city enclosed by walls, called Kyrenia. Inland are three castles: Dieudamour,¹ Buffavento, and Kantara.

515 This island is a kingdom. Its king and lord was King Henry of Lusignan, who I have referred to as king of Jerusalem.

516 Those who escaped from Acre and the other places of Syria retreated to this island, but they were in great poverty. Even if there was anyone there who had been able to bring away something of his own and carry it to Cyprus with him, it was worth less than half of what it had been, because foodstuffs were in great scarcity.² Even houses which had been renting for ten bezants a year went up to a hundred bezants a year. All their friends in Cyprus forgot about them and made no kindly mention of them.

¹ Lit.: 'God of Love'. Generally called St. Hilarion in modern works.

² And therefore very expensive, which caused inflation.

But King Henry took counsel, and had the poor knights and sergeants put on a payroll, and he gave great alms and many good things to them, and the King and the Queen established relief specifically to be given to these poor people.¹

517 Now that you have heard how the kingdom of Jerusalem was entirely lost, it seems good to me to put into my book the names of the cities and castles of Syria, just as I have found them written down.² The names are below.

518 The first city which should be named is Jerusalem, for it is chief among all the others. And I will name the land of Nablus for you, because it is near Jerusalem; and the region of Acre; and the region of Tyre; and the region of Toron; and the region of Jaffa; and the region of Ascalon; and the region of Gaza, and the region of Safad; and the region of Sidon and Beaufort; and the city of Caesarea; and the region of Bethsan; and Kerak in Montreal; and the region of St. Abraham;³ and the region of Bethlehem; and the region of Jericho; and the region of Blanchegarde; and the region of St. George; and the region of Lydda; and the region of Arsuf; and the region of St. John-of-Sebastea;⁴ and the region of Merle;⁵ and the region of Château Pèlerin; and the region of Haifa; and the region of Caymont; and the region of Nazareth; and the region of Count Joscelin⁶ and the region of the Château du Roi;⁷ and Scandelion and its appurtenances; and the region of Banyas; and Château Neuf; and the region of Beirut.

519 Now that you have heard the names of the regions, I want to tell you the services of knights and sergeants which each region owes to the kingdom in times of need.

520 Jerusalem owes 41 knights.⁸ The barony of the city of Jaffa and Ascalon, and Ramla and Mirabel and Ibelin owe 100 knights, and the principality of Galilee owes 100 knights, and the lordship of Kerak in Montreal 60 knights, and the lordship of Count Joscelin owes 24 knights, and the city of Nablus owes 85

¹ Henry was unmarried; the queen referred to is the king's mother.

² The author evidently refers to the work of John of Ibelin. See Peter Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, p. 129 and the map on p. xiv.

³ Hebron.

⁴ The text reads, mistakenly, *Saint Jorge dou Sabast*.

⁵ According to the *RHC*, this is Mirla, a small port between Caesarea and Mt. Carmel.

⁶ A lordship built up by Joscelin III of Courtenay, the uncle of King Baldwin IV in the 1170s and 1180s.

⁷ Part of the lordship of Joscelin.

⁸ This and the following statements are a corrupted summary of the already corrupt text included at the end of John of Ibelin's *Livre des Assises*. For a modern edition and translation of this particular passage in the *Livre*, see Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, pp. 118–26 and 191–200.

knights, and the lordship of Acre owes 80 knights, and the lordship of Tyre owes 78¹ knights. Altogether that makes 568.²

521 And now I will tell you the number of sergeants which everyone ought to give as service. The patriarch of Jerusalem owed 500 sergeants, and the chapter of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre owed 500 sergeants, and Safad owed 150 sergeants, and Abbey of Notre-Dame-la-Latine owed 100 sergeants, and the bishop of Tiberias owed 50 sergeants, and the city of Jerusalem owed (from the people of the town) 500 sergeants, and the city of Acre owed 500 sergeants, and the city of Nablus owed 300 sergeants, and the city of Caesarea owed 50 sergeants, and the bishop of Bethlehem owed 200 sergeants, and Ibelin and Mirabel owed 150 sergeants, and the bishop of St. George owed 200 sergeants, and Arsuf owed 100 sergeants,³ and the bishop of St. Abraham owed 50 sergeants, and the archbishop of Tyre owed 150 sergeants, and the bishop of Sidon owed 50 sergeants, and the archbishop of Caesarea owed 50 sergeants, and Ascalon owed 150 sergeants, and Legio owed 100 sergeants, and Le Gerin⁴ owed 25; Haifa owed 50 sergeants, and Tiberias owed 50 sergeants. Altogether that makes 3,975.⁵

522 Now I have recounted to you the lamentable loss of Acre and of all the land of Syria, and the names of the lands, and their services. Now let us recount to you the events which took place thereafter.

523 When the news crossed the sea, the pope and all Christendom there were most sorrowful of heart upon hearing it, the one on account of the poor Christians who were lost, and the other on account of the shame to Christendom.

524 The pope of Rome straightway armed ten galleys in Ancona and sent them to Cyprus to guard the island and the poor Christians who were in it. He also sent another ten other galleys, armed at Genoa. This greatly strengthened the Cypriots against the arrogant boldness of the sultan, who intended to invade Cyprus.

525 When these galleys arrived, King Henry II of Cyprus armed fifteen galleys, and all the galleys together went to a Turkish castle called Alanya,⁶ and they took the tower which is by the sea, and intended to take the other one, but were not able to do so, for the Turks saw them coming and were on guard and defended

¹ According to John of Ibelin, Tyre owed only 28 knights (Edbury, *op. cit.*, p. 198).

² In the manuscript this indication is in a hand different from the copyist's.

³ The manuscripts of John of Ibelin's work, from which this list is apparently taken, all give Arsuf's obligation as 50, not 100.

⁴ Biblical Jezreel.

⁵ As at the end of §520, this indication is in a different hand. Also, the sum is given as 3,580, which does not equal a complete total of the figures given in the section.

⁶ A castle on the Anatolian coast.

themselves. It was only by great effort of arms that they had taken the tower that they did capture, and after that they could do nothing more. So they abandoned that tower, and left and went to Alexandria. They were outside it for some days, and then returned to Cyprus.

526 And during the year 1291 of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the sultan of Babylon, who had just destroyed the Christians of Syria, saw that the galleys had besieged his port of Alexandria, as I have told you. He was outraged by this, and was afraid and thought that Cyprus would be able to do him further harm. So he assembled his emirs and told them that he wished to take Cyprus without fail. To this end he gave orders to 100 emirs, that they should make 100 galleys, each emir according to his ability. The emirs, being men who feared him greatly, agreed to this. And so, as you have heard, he wished to destroy all the Christians, even the poor people who had taken refuge in Cyprus. But God, who is full of mercy, made matters turn out otherwise, and in such a way as I will tell you.

527 Once more the sultan assembled his emirs, and said to them: 'Fair lords, I have decided that, after I have taken Cyprus, it would please me to carry off a great deed, suitable to myself. So I would that you should prepare yourselves to follow me, for I wish to go and take Baghdad and establish myself on the seat of the Caliph'.

When the emirs saw that he intended such a massive and dangerous undertaking, they discussed killing him amongst themselves, for they could not endure his arrogance. And they did what they had decided to do, and swore oaths together.

It happened that one day as he was out on a hunt, they fell upon him and slew him.¹ The one who struck the first blow was Baydara, who was his uncle, his mother's brother; he struck so half-heartedly that he did not cause a mortal wound. Thereupon an emir named Lachin² struck him, saying to Baydara, 'You do not strike like a man who wants to be sultan! But I will give him a manly blow'. And he hacked him so that he cut him in two. Thus was Christianity avenged of the wrongs which he had committed.

528 This action threw the Saracens into an uproar, for each emir wanted to be sultan. There was a great battle amongst them, and many were slain in it. Baydara was elevated to sultan, but the next day he and his party were slain, and Kitbogha was made sultan. Then Lachin, of whom I have spoken to you, who had slain the sultan, hunted down Kitbogha and took the lordship from him and killed all of his

¹ See Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 82, and Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, pp. 105–6, for a summary of this assassination.

² Lachin or Lajin al-Mansur, Khalil al-Ashraf's sword-bearer and later to usurp the throne himself (1296–99).

partisans. Then this Lachin was killed, along with all of his people. And even Sanjar al-Shuja'i, who was a great emir in *Paynimie*, was slain, dying an ill death.¹

529 Thus were killed and destroyed all the emirs, the persecutors of Jesus Christ. It may be that God permitted us to be punished by them for our evil deeds, and that it only remained for God to punish them for the evil which they had done us. And God Himself willed that the people should be punished for the disgrace which they had brought on Christendom in knocking down the churches and dragging around the images, which are made in remembrance of God and of Our Lady. So God sent them a great food shortage and famine, worse than they had ever had, and a very great number of people died. And because of the number of deaths, there came such a great disease among them that even many of the richest died. Thus God took vengeance on the miscreant Saracens.²

530 In the midst of all these events, I want to show you a matter which certainly deserves to be recounted. Everyone, I believe, knows as well as I do that after Acre and Syria were lost, the condition of the people was dreadfully changed from good to bad, so that no one wished to care for anyone else, either to serve or to succour, and one saw the noble people so abased and so dishonoured that no mention was even made of them. It made me feel so terrible and so sad that I was moved to pity, and I set myself to compose a poem on the way things have been since Acre and Syria were lost. I have included the poem which I composed in this book, so that in times to come it may always be preserved and remembered. It begins thus:

Because I witness many things changing
From light to darkness
In my own time,
Before my very eyes,

I am overcome by the need
To put down my thoughts in rhyme –
Thoughts on the age and the season
In which have befallen so many ill things. 5

I cannot be silent, whatever the cost,
For these things weigh heavily on my heart –
Seeing the times so contrary
To the noble French people. 10

And if anyone should say: 'What has this to do with me?
'What profit is there in the hearing of these things?'
Let them be assured that they are hearing
A tale which is quite new. 15

¹ Al-Ashraf Khalil had been sultan 1290–93; al-Adil Kitbogha, 1294–96; al-Mansur Lachin, 1296–99. Sanjar was executed by Kitbogha in 1294.

² Egypt was indeed subject to a terrible famine, followed by disease, in 1295.

And let them not think it foolish
 That a *prud'homme* should set to work
 On occasion, and be involved
 In shaping good arguments into poetry. 20

For one may find good examplars
 In rhymes and in songs,
 And often, by means of these,
 Some may attain perfection.

I shall begin with the present age 25
 And tell of certain things.
 It ought to be plain to everyone
 That what I say is true.

When Acre was despoiled
 And all Syria laid waste, 30
 The world longed for some good thing
 In the midst of great evils.

Men who were already evil
 Now became even more vile.
 And in my view, 35
 No one cared anymore about anyone else.

For rancor, discord and hatred
 Have put down roots between men;
 Love has fled from them
 And Envy is sown amongst them. 40

For they are in great contention
 Over who should get the upper hand
 In this world, and prove himself superior,
 So that no one might be his equal.

Each seeking that he might be more greatly honoured 45
 And feared than his neighbor,
 Making and wearing fine clothes,
 And nurturing a mighty arrogance.

But helping orphan girls find husbands
 Or supporting impoverished widows.... 50
 You will not see anyone
 Setting aside coins for alms-giving.

So the greater part of men
 Are changed for the worse,
 And perhaps without my verses 55
 No one would stop and take notice.

So I will begin
 And show you in rhyme
 How good sense, virtue and courtesy
 Are valued but little today. 60

Praise and honour are acquired with difficulty
 By fair words and valour.
 Blandishments and flattery will more quickly
 Advance your cause today.

Those who are good at getting drunk, 65
 And singing dirty songs
 And flattering and bribing –
 Such men can get what they want.

And whoever is clever 70
 At deceitful things, and shows cunning,
 And comes up with novel ideas –
 That fellow is considered wise.

And whoever carries himself arrogantly
 And delays responding to everybody
 And shows himself fierce and bold – 75
 That fellow is considered valiant.

But a straightforward, noble soul,
 Without malice, and of good conduct –
 Such a one attracts no attention,
 But is considered a muttonhead. 80

For scarcely can anyone by humility,
 Or by sensible or virtuous words,
 Or by living a good life,
 Earn assistance in distress.

And so in sum I have to tell you 85
 That one cannot find a *prud'homme*
 Who is highly valued
 Because of the Good which he has or knows.

But those who lend out at usury
 Are given great honours without measure, 90
 And are cherished and well-beloved
 A great deal more than a loyal *prud'homme*.

And cowardly fellows of vile birth
 Are invited by quality folk to dances,
 And are given honours and rewards 95
 And are received by noblemen.

May their very faces be cursed
 Because of the few silver pieces which they have,
 And for which some people will honour them –
 For this reason alone they will recognize them! 100

Thus falls the world in ruins,
 When Evil is taken for Good.
 Well were these times foretold
 By the Sibyl, truth to tell.¹

But no matter what anybody tells me, in the end 105
 I know quite well – by St. Martin! –
 That he who has no money
 Will not be well-received today.

And as for those who want 110
 To pile up a great heap of gold and silver
 So that they might be the envy of others –
 They are placing a great weight on their consciences.

Fair good noblemen
 Were not accustomed to act thus, once.
 Rather they acted with Truth, 115
 With Goodness, and with Loyalty.²

But vile men are not so, now.
 Their speech is perverse
 And they seek to pile up gold and silver
 And to lord it over better men. 120

Such men have wrecked the world.
 There is great peril in the horned ass,
 With horns of gold and silver,
 Able to gore all Mankind.

And though we are all creatures 125
 Of God, still it is not right
 That all should have the same status.
 It was by the Will of God,

That Abraham placed Ishmael
 Beneath the feet of Isaac, who though younger, 130
 Was begotten of the lady wife.
 Ishmael was considered a serf,

For he was a bastard, born of a serf-girl.
 But now no one can maintain himself
 Unless he has money, 135
 For the sake of which men are brought down.

Everything is upside down now.
 Men who are of the most base origins
 Advance rapidly, provided
 That they have money beyond measure. 140

¹ Possibly a reference to the apocalyptic language of the sequence *Dies irae*.

² Or possibly, 'with Propriety'.

So help me God, this grieves me.
 Now you have read my verses:
 How great sin there is, and how many ills
 When the ass becomes the horse!

And again, for lust for money
 Some will rob others, 145
 And one seizes land from another,
 And Christianity is sold out by everyone.

The thing which pains me most in this age,
 Which unfolds so perversely, 150
 Is that those who are of good birth
 Are dragged down by such crushing burdens.

Everywhere Righteousness fails,
 And Truth expires on all sides.
 If someone should have a quarrel¹ 155
 With a powerful man,

The one who hands out invitations and makes presents
 To the judge of fine wines and cordials
 Will be given a full hearing,
 While the man who does not will be turned away.² 160

Everything goes from bad to worse,
 I don't know what else to tell you.
 But you may be sure that God
 Will judge all this in the end.

Now I want to tell you about the clergy, 165
 Who are all addicted to simony.
 No one gets a prebend³ for his virtues
 Or his wisdom – only by offering bribes.

Nobody can get any of the benefits
 Of the Church in any way – 170
 Neither baptism nor burial –
 Except through the offices of Lord Money.

And no matter what the matter concerns,
 If it becomes known that the affair
 Is about some poor wretch, 175
 Then he is pulled aside with a word.

¹ Specifically, a lawsuit.

² Cf. the 'Gospel of the Mark of Silver', here and even more so below; the sentiments are similar. There is an English translation of the 'Gospel' in Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars*, 7th ed., London, 1958, pp. 164–5, and several Latin versions in Paul Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1963, pp. 183–8.

³ Financial support given by a collegiate church or cathedral to a cleric. Again, cf. the complaint of the 'Gospel of the Mark of Silver'.

But if he is rich and powerful
 Then everyone comes immediately,
 Chanting, in procession.
 That's the way things are now. 180

St. Peter did not ordain that the clergy
 Should behave themselves this way.
 They should make themselves available to all men
 Without demanding gold or silver.

And when anybody in Holy Church
 Becomes a prelate or takes some office,
 He is swollen at once with pride,
 As if a lamb had transformed into a bear. 185

Some of the Dominicans and Franciscans
 Have just as much pride, to be sure,
 But of them it may truly be said,
 That the world would be a great deal worse, 190

Certainly, if they did not exist.
 For by their acts of charity –
 As those who know the story can attest –
 They restrain many men from evil deeds. 195

As for kings, princes and barons –
 Of them I shall make no mention,
 For everybody can see plainly
 The way their governments operate. 200

I know quite well that, even without my saying it,
 Everyone sees the way the world is getting worse.
 Perhaps someone says: 'What ought I to do?'
 One ought to draw back from all evil,

And distance oneself from worldly pride,
 And honour and serve God. 205
 For when He comes in judgement,
 Dung¹ will be more useful than money.

The perverse behaviours of this time,
 Which you have heard me recounting,
 Were not the custom in Cyprus at all,
 Since, it may truly be said, 210

It was the most gentle country
 Between here and Paris,
 One which knew no discord
 Only peace and love and concord. 215

¹ Or even 'shit'. The word is *fumier*, which can carry considerable crude force. Cf. Philippians 3:8 in the Greek original.

They maintained bonds of affection,
 And comported themselves with loyalty and faithfulness,
 Having no other thought
 Than to celebrate and to bring comfort. 220

They were noble and open
 Towards all men of good will,
 And so their country was secure
 And had no quarrel with anyone.

But they were torn apart by greed 225
 Into great discord and argument
 And so they were greatly diminished
 And injured and brought down.

And so there was much hatred amongst them
 And they treated each other badly. 230
 There was no love lost between them,
 Only faithlessness and bad behaviour.

And so the land is lost
 And great harm done, as you well know.
 There is great danger in their discord 235
 If God does not bring them to agreement.

531 Now you have heard the poem which I composed about life then. And I think that everyone who has seen this time, as I have done, would say that the poem speaks well, both rightly and truly.

But now I will leave this matter, and begin speaking about those events which I ought to discuss, which happened after Acre was lost, just as I have recounted the other earlier things to you.

532 After Acre was lost, it happened in the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1291 that the Saracens of Spain, who are at the straits of Morocco,¹ saw that the sultan of Babylon had destroyed Christianity in Syria. So they wished to destroy their Spanish Christian neighbors – for the Saracens of Syria had long ago made a compact with the Saracens of Spain to do harm to the Christians both here and over there. What the Syrian Muslims had achieved, the others I mentioned wanted to do also. They armed 20 *leins*, galleys and *saities*, and brought a great many men-at-arms across the strait of Morocco into the land of the king of Spain, in a number of trips. When they had crossed over, they besieged a fine Christian city belonging to the king of Castile.²

533 When the king of Castile learned of this, he armed fifteen galleys. Their admiral was Sir Benedetto Zaccaria of Genoa, who at that time was the admiral of the kingdom of Castile. This Sir Benedetto came with his fifteen galleys to the place

¹ That is, the Straits of Gibraltar.

² Sancho IV of Castile and Leon (1284–95).

where the Saracens were and gave chase to them. But he could not catch them, and afterwards the Saracen galleys returned to their places and landed troops all day.

534 The king of Castile summoned his armed horsemen and assembled his host. While he was assembling his men to move against the Saracens, Benedetto Zaccaria was giving chase to the Saracen galleys, and he captured the *salties*. The place where they were landing their men was narrow, but the Saracens saw that their galleys were more swift than those of the Christians, and so they behaved with great audacity, and unloaded the men elsewhere, caring nothing for our galleys.

535 This Sir Benedetto Zaccaria, himself a wise and cunning sailor, had also in his company a number of similarly wise and cunning Genoese mariners who were in the pay of the king of Castile. He discussed with them how to trick the Saracen galleys. After many suggestions were made, they decided to make the benches of their galleys so long that three men could sit on them and work them, fast and furiously, and get their crews to row three to a bench, a disposition which is called *treseul*.¹

When he had altered his galleys in the way you have been told, it happened that one fine morning Sir Benedetto set out to go against the Saracen galleys, rowing very slowly. And the Saracen galleys, as was their wont, came confidently to meet him. When Sir Benedetto saw that they were within bowshot, and that they were trusting in their own speed – they found themselves, by the mercy of God, tricked! At once the men on the *treseuls* bent their backs to row, and they gave them chase, up to the other land,² where many of the Saracens, seeing themselves near land, threw themselves into the sea. Others defended themselves, but all twenty galleys were captured and the vast majority of the men killed or captured. Their own men on land fell on them and slew them.³

When their soldiers, who had besieged the town of the king of Castile, heard that their galleys had been captured, they raised the siege and came back to the seashore, to see if they could by any chance salvage any of the force so as to be able to retreat. But some of them went to the king of Castile; finding him with a great host, these Saracens converted and became Christians.

The king of Castile and his men remained there where the Saracens were, so that the king might defeat them and put them all to the sword without mercy. The king of Castile did this willingly, to assuage the heaviness of his heart on account of the loss of Acre and the destruction of the poor Christians of Syria.

But let us leave the matter there – for there is no more to say – and you shall hear of another event.

¹ *Treseul* is a system of sailing that uses three men to an oar, as indicated above. There is a useful description in Minervini, p. 435; John Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, Cambridge, 1992, p. 77, says that until the fourteenth century, galleys normally had two oarsmen to a bench. This is therefore an early instance of the practice.

² The meaning is unclear here: either 'to the coast of Africa' or simply 'further on up the coast.'

³ Apparently the Saracens were following the ungenerous but widespread custom of despoiling the shipwrecked.

536 You know how I have described the war of the Genoese at Acre to you, and I have told how after this war the Genoese fought with Pisa, and defeated them as you have heard – and most of this was by reason of the aforementioned war in Acre. After this war at Acre, the Venetians greatly despised the men of Genoa, and often offered them insults. For their part, the Genoese greatly desired war with the men of Venice, to avenge or to crush their shame. But the wrong originated with the Venetians and with the Enemy from Hell, who knew well that all that was needed was for one of them to begin it. So he arranged a way immediately, as I shall tell you.

537 It happened in the year 1292 of Christ that four Venetian galleys came from Venice to Cyprus. There were also men-at-arms from two other galleys at Cyprus in the service of the house of the Temple, and on them came a Templar brother named William de la Tour. My lord Philip of Ibelin, uncle of King Henry II of Jerusalem and of Cyprus, came from overseas on these four galleys, having boarded in Venice.¹

Now it happened that, while they were under way, they encountered seven Genoese merchant galleys, on their way to Genoa from Romania.² And as was the custom on the seas...³ [lacuna] ...the four Venetian galleys did not wish to evade them, even though Sir Philip of Ibelin asked them to do so. But they wished to do nothing of the sort. However, the Genoese dipped their standards in order to avert unpleasantness, being merchantmen who did not seek a fight. They had six galleys, for the other one had gone very near the land to see if it could find any other galleys. The Venetians, who had plenty of men and who were looking for a fight, and who thought that they had sufficient crew for the six galleys on their four, as I have told you, saw the galleys moving out of their sight. They thought that they were doing this out of fear, and so the Venetians became arrogant, and laid their hands to their swords and drew them out bare, shouting at the Genoese, 'Now... [lacuna] ...', that is to say, 'We've got you!'

When the Genoese saw what the Venetians were doing, and that they were arming themselves, they also armed themselves and came against them. As they met, Brother William de la Tour (who was on a Venetian galley, as I have told you) was slain by a crossbow bolt. When they were joined together in battle with one another, the Venetians had the worst of it and were vanquished and captured, many of them being killed.

The captain of the Genoese galleys was Sir Gian Malocello,⁴ and he protected Sir Philip of Ibelin, uncle of the king of Cyprus, although Sir Philip's silver plate was stolen, and could never be found. However, they made amends for this to his satisfaction.

¹ Philip of Ibelin (d. 1318) was later seneschal of Cyprus and Henry II's leading counsellor.

² Either the Greek or Latin fragments of the Byzantine Empire (not modern Romania).

³ It was customary, when two flotillas encountered one another, for the smaller to salute the larger, by dipping its banners. The Venetians insulted the Genoese by refusing to observe this custom, and the Genoese, hoping to avoid a fight, saluted them instead (the missing text can be reconstructed in part from 'Amadi', p. 230).

⁴ Or 'Marocello'.

The Venetians were taken to an island where they confessed their wrongdoing and the outrage they had committed, and the Genoese made a notarized charter of the confession, and then let them go. Thus did Sir Philip of Ibelin recount the whole story.

538 The following year, which was the year of the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1293,¹ the Venetians armed twenty-five galleys in Venice, and went to Cyprus to do mischief to the Genoese. They paid no attention to the wrong that had come from the actions of their men, as you have heard me recount, due to the presence of the gentleman and great lord, Sir Philip of Ibelin. Nor did they send any messenger to Genoa, but rather of their own initiative and with spite, these twenty-five Venetian galleys came to Limassol in Cyprus. Their captain was Marco Mazilli.² They knocked down the crenellations on the Genoese Tower at Limassol, and knocked down the loggia of the Genoese, and took the blazon painted with the arms of Genoa, and dragged it, tied to a rope, along the ground. They made great threats against the Genoese, so that none of the Genoese in Limassol dared to show themselves.

Then they left Limassol, and went to Salines,³ where they found King Henry II of Jerusalem and of Cyprus. Late at night, the captain of these galleys landed and spoke with the king. The captain gave him letters that the Doge had sent him. As they spoke of many things, the king demanded to know why he had come there with so many galleys. He said that he wanted to avenge a number of petty outrages that the Genoese had committed against them. The king told him that he should be on his guard lest the Genoese should arm themselves against him. The captain replied that he had men with him who were not afraid of fifty Genoese galleys, who knew very well that they were the sons of men who had defeated the Genoese in times past. He said these words to the king in the hearing of my lord Philip of Ibelin, and of many knights and household personnel who were there. And I, who God knows was there, have written it down as I heard it.

539 These galleys left Salines that night and went to Famagusta. The castellan of Famagusta, Sir Philip of Brie,⁴ went that night to the loggia of the Genoese and told the consul and the Genoese whom he found there that he wanted them to know that the Venetian galleys were coming to Famagusta, intending to do them mischief, and that he was not able to protect them. So the consul assembled the Genoese, and by one accord they left Famagusta and went to Nicosia and other places. With all due respect,⁵ the castellan ought not to have said such a thing, for according to the tenor of the privileges of the Genoese, the king was supposed to

¹ Or possibly 1294, as Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. II, p. 208, indicates; evidence in the same work on p. 207, n. 4, would support putting the events of §537 in 1293.

² Minervini renders this as 'Marco Basilio'. The text reads *Marc Mazille*.

³ A reference to the salt pans near the present-day town of Larnaca.

⁴ A member of a well-established noble family in Cyprus.

⁵ Lit., 'saving his honour'.

protect and guard them inside his kingdom, to the best of his abilities. Yet he did not promise to defend them inasmuch as he was able, but rather told them straight away [that he could not help them] when they most needed it.¹

540 However, the Genoese left, as was said above, and the Venetian galleys went out and came to Ayas² in Armenia. They captured a Genoese *nef* and ransomed it for 1,500 white bezants, after having stripped off all its weapons. And they dragged the Genoese banners along the sea, crying, 'War!'

They remained there selling their merchandise and loading their galleys, and the Genoese of Ayas fled out to the villages. Considerable damage was done to their possessions in Ayas.

541 Meanwhile, Sir Egidio Doria was at Famagusta, having fought at Caffa with a Venetian galley belonging to a man named Paoletto Dolfin. He had taken it by force, and then let it go. Now he was back at Famagusta, as you have heard, and there he heard and saw the things which the Venetians had done to the Genoese in Cyprus and at Ayas. He was soon to leave Cyprus to go to Genoa; he had with him Brother Nicholas and his companion (both Franciscans), who had come along. He departed and went on, and along his way he encountered fourteen Genoese galleys, coming from Genoa to Romania. He spoke to those in the galleys and told them about the outrages which the Venetians had committed and done to the Genoese. They were most enraged at this, and said that they would set this to rights. So this Egidio Doria turned back with them and with the two Franciscans he had with him, and went to Constantinople. There they unloaded their bales and their merchandise onto the land, and commended it to the emperor, and then armed themselves heavily and provided themselves with weapons and those things which seemed useful.

The Venetian *bailli*³ at Constantinople came to them in Pera,⁴ the town outside Constantinople that belonged to the Genoese, and spoke to the lords of the galleys. He begged them to allow him to go ahead of them to their people in Armenia, to see if he could do any good. But the Genoese would not allow him to do so. Again this *bailli* begged them to let him come along with them on their galleys, so that he might do some good – but the Genoese wanted nothing to do with him, and so he left and went back to Constantinople.

542 The Genoese left their city of Pera, accompanied by fifteen galleys, including Sir Egidio Doria's, and they brought the two Franciscans with them. On their way,

¹ The point here is that the Genoese could then legitimately argue that the king ought to compensate them for the losses they had suffered in Cyprus.

² Otherwise known as 'Lajazzo' or 'Laias'. After the fall of Acre and Tripoli, Christian merchants transferred a great deal of their activity to this city in Cilician Armenia.

³ Italian *bailo*.

⁴ Or 'Galata'; a suburb of Constantinople, across the Golden Horn.

as they approached Ayas, they encountered two galleys belonging to one of their fellow Genoese, someone named Andrea Peleau.¹ These galleys joined up with them, so that they had seventeen galleys. They also found another Genoese in his armed *lein* (a vessel smaller than a galley), and they gathered him into their company too.

When they arrived in Gorigos,² they discovered a Cypriot galley crewed by men of Syria, Pisans and Venetians, men who the Genoese found hateful. Some of these men had offended the Genoese in the past. On this galley also was Sir Otto of Grandson. This Sir Otto of Grandson, who is a Western knight of great renown,³ spoke to the Genoese, pleading urgently with them to allow him to accompany them so that he could be of some use [in avoiding conflict]. But the Genoese had no wish to allow this, and they requested him to move his galley away from theirs, lest at any time there might arise some evil, for on his galley there were people who had offended them in times past, though out of esteem for him they did not wish to harm them.

Sir Otto left them there and went to Cyprus, for he had come to see and speak with the king of Armenia.⁴

543 The Genoese were at Ayas, within sight of the Venetian galleys. The Genoese sent the two Franciscans to them, and commanded them to surrender up the Genoese property which they had captured. The Venetians would have none of this; they took the Franciscans and dumped them on the land along with their boat, refusing to allow them to return to the Genoese. They sailed their galleys towards the Genoese galleys in order to attack them.

The Genoese eluded them and went towards Black Mountain,⁵ which is thirty miles to the south of Ayas, and dropped anchor there. The Venetians also came there in their galleys, and dropped anchor and stopped before the Genoese galleys, and they confronted one another for as long as it suited them.

The Genoese then left and went to Ayas, and they proposed in council that they should pursue the Venetians up into the Gulf of Venice.⁶ They noted amongst themselves that their galleys were loaded and weighed down, and if any wind should disperse them, they would lose everything. They decided that if they wished to give battle, they should wait for each other and should make ready and provide themselves with local people, and should wait and join up with each other, for they were much fewer in number than the Venetians.

¹ See above, §503.

² Ancient Corycus, in Cilician Armenia. The Franks (including the author) called it *Le Courc*.

³ Otto was born c. 1238 and died 1328. For a biography of Otto, see Esther Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown*, Chicago, 1961.

⁴ Probably Hetoum II.

⁵ A peak at the end of the Amanus Mountains, across the Gulf of Alexandretta from Cilicia.

⁶ I.e., the Adriatic.

544 The Venetians were then off the Point of Mamistra¹ with thirty-two ships, for twenty-five galleys had left Venice. The commune of Venice sent a galley to notify them that the Genoese galleys had left Genoa and that they should therefore be on their guard, and three galleys and three *saities* were coming to them from Romania.² The Venetians determined to give battle to the Genoese, because if they did not fight them and free themselves of them, it seemed to them that the Genoese would thereupon gain the opportunity to do them harm. For this reason it was preferable for them to fight.

They proposed raising their yards to a high peak,³ so that if the Genoese should decide to refuse battle and turn to go, they should be able to put sail on their galleys and overtake them. So they had their yards high, so that there was nothing to do but to haul in the foot rope.

Thus they set a course for the port of Ayas, where the Genoese awaited them.

545 When the Genoese saw them coming, they armed themselves and cried, 'At them! At them!' The galleys of the Venetians came towards them to surround them. The Genoese galleys were bound together, for since they were fewer in number than the Venetians, they did not dare allow themselves to be scattered apart. There was a great and fierce battle, with spears and stones and quarrels, which lasted the better part of the day.

In the end, the Venetians had the worst of it. When the Genoese saw that they had prevailed, they untied their galleys and captured twenty-five of the Venetian galleys. Four Venetian galleys and three *saities* escaped and went to Venice. So the Genoese acquired all the merchandise which the Venetians had had on their galleys, which was worth more than 500,000 saracenate bezants. In this manner, the Venetians suffered a great misfortune.

And now I will stop speaking of them and the Genoese for a little while, and we shall speak of the things which ought to be discussed which happened year by year.

546 In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1294, Brother Pietro del Morrone, a hermit, was elected pope. He was called Pope Celestine V. He was

¹ The author is apparently referring to the mouth of the Ceyhan River (known as the Pryamus in ancient times), which flows into the north side of the Gulf of Alexandretta. The Ceyhan flows past Misis, which is also known as Mopsuestia or Mamistra, and is – or was – navigable up to Mamistra. See E. G. Rey, 'Périples de Syrie et d'Arménie', in *AOL* II, pp. 348–9, and Edwards, *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*, pp. xx–xxi and 198–200.

² The last phrase is ambiguous. Presumably the Venetians are being warned that more Genoese ships are on their way.

³ The rendering is based on a private communication of 8 February 2001 from John Pryor, and assumes that *en poy hautes* means 'to a high peak' rather than 'a little way up'. According to Pryor, the Venetians did a foolish thing by going into battle with their masts raised and sails up, and he believes that the author is trying to find a rational explanation for this behaviour.

a very saintly man, and a great number of people said that God worked many miracles through him during his lifetime. He would only ever ride on a donkey, desiring no higher dignity; rather, he lived very humbly, and did not long survive.¹

I will tell you what befell him when he was pope, as I have told you. He saw the great quarrels and discords among Christians, even in the court at Rome, but he was not able to resolve them, so he relinquished the apostolic see and returned to his abbey, leaving the cardinals in a great debate over who should be pope.

Now there was a cardinal who was wise and clever and most enterprising. He had been the notary in the papal court, and had had a great deal of education, so he knew a great deal. He spoke to many of the other cardinals and promised each of them that he would make them pope if they would give him their support. None of them realized what was going on, so they all individually gave him their votes. He made great promises – but when the day of the election came, he himself was made pope, and the others were quite deceived. This man was originally called Benedetto Caetani; he had been born in a region called Agnani.²

547 Once this man had become pope, he gave orders and had Pope Celestine (who had been deposed from the papacy) brought to him, and he had him held under guard. As a result a controversy then arose amongst the people, and they said that there were two popes, and that this was something which had never happened before,³ and that it was unprecedented to have a pope deposed. Pope Celestine lived for a little while, and then he died.

548 This Pope Boniface VIII began to torment and oppress the men of the Colonna family, members of a great Roman noble house. There were two cardinals of their lineage, one named Sir Jacopo and the other Sir Pietro. These two accused the pope of misdeeds, so the pope himself preached against them, and barred them – even to the fourth generation – from holding any benefice of the Holy Church. Then the Colonna attacked some of the pope's men and robbed them of a great deal of money. At this war broke out in full force, and the pope besieged them in their castle of Colonna, and then besieged the castle called Palestrina which belongs to the Colonna family and which is very strong. He took first the one castle and then the other, and the two cardinals threw themselves on his mercy. He kept them under guard, but they afterwards escaped to Genoa, and from there went to Sicily.

¹ That is, did not live long after becoming pope. Celestine V was elected pope on 5 July 1294 and resigned the office on 13 December of the same year. He died in captivity on 19 May 1296 at the age of about 87.

² Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303).

³ This was not the case, as there had been a number of times when there had been a pope and an anti-pope. Perhaps the author is simply reporting what people were commonly saying.

549 Pope Boniface VIII translated¹ many prelates. Among others, he translated Archbishop John Turk, a Franciscan who had been born in Ancona, and made him archbishop of Sardinia.²

550 And he made Gérard, dean of Langres, the archbishop of Cyprus. Gérard remained in Cyprus two years and then went back to the West.

551 In the year of the Incarnation 1294, there was a great quarrel in Armenia between King Hetoum II and his brothers. I will tell you the occasion of it.³

552 King Hetoum went to the Tartars⁴ and left his brother Thoros, who was his second brother, in his place. When he returned from the Tartars, he accused his brother of wanting to take over his kingdom, and accused many of the barons of his country of complicity in this scheme. Afterwards, King Hetoum went to Constantinople and took Thoros with him. Sempad, his third brother, whom he had left in his place, thereupon had himself crowned king of Armenia, for Hetoum, in his time, had never wanted to be crowned while he was king, but rather wore the habit of the Franciscans and called himself 'Brother John of Armenia'.

553 When 'Brother John' heard that Sempad his brother had made himself king of his kingdom of Armenia, he armed two galleys and, bringing his brother Thoros with him, he went to Armenia. But the men of Armenia barred their entry. When 'Brother John' asked them why they were keeping him out of his own country, they replied that his brother Sempad had been crowned, and did not want Hetoum to come into the country. So 'Brother John' and his brother Thoros went to Cyprus, and from there to Constantinople, and then set out for the Tartars, in order to complain about his brother Sempad.

¹ That is, transferred them from one bishopric or office to another. Translation was not uncommon in the thirteenth century, but it had been very rare before then.

² John Turk is more generally known as John of Ancona; he was archbishop of Nicosia on Cyprus before being translated to Torre in Sardinia in 1295. See Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312*, Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997, for various references to both John of Ancona and Gérard of Langres.

³ The chronology of the history of the kingdom of Armenia for some time after 1291 is confused. A tentative chronology for the reign of King Hetoum II may be found in 'Appendix A' of Crawford, 'An Institution in Crisis', pp. 197–203. Thoros seems to have reigned 1293–94, and to have been killed in 1298; see W. H. Rüd̄t de Collenberg [Rüd̄t-Collenberg], *The Rupenides, Hethumides and Lusignans*, Paris, 1963, table III (H2), which dates his murder to 23 July 1298.

Useful, but appearing too recently to have been consulted much for this work, is Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: war and diplomacy during the reigns of Het'um II (1289–1307)*, Leiden, 2001.

⁴ The kings of Cilician Armenia had been Mongol clients since the mid-thirteenth century.

But Sempad got to the Tartars before them, and married a Tartar wife in order to have a better friendship with them. On his way back from the Tartars to Armenia, he met 'Brother John' and his brother Thoros on the road, on their way to the Tartars. So he seized them and brought them with him into Armenia. After a few days he had Thoros his brother strangled, and had the eyes of Hetoum (that is, 'Brother John') put out. But as it pleased God, he was left with one eye and so afterwards could still see.

When the fourth brother, named Constantine,¹ saw that King Sempad had slain his brother Thoros and blinded the other brother, he was deeply grieved, and conferred with several of the wealthiest men of Armenia, and assembled men and came against Sempad, and defeated him, and took him and cast him in prison, and set his brother Hetoum (that is, 'Brother John') free.

When Hetoum was out, he did not behave gratefully to Constantine, who had delivered him, but rather seized him and threw him into prison, and then sent him and Sempad to the emperor of Constantinople. And so Hetoum held his own kingdom, always dressed in the habit of the Franciscans, until the son of Thoros (his second brother who had been strangled) was grown.² The mother of this child was the sister of King Henry of Jerusalem and of Cyprus.³ King Hetoum had the child crowned king of Armenia during his own lifetime. And now we will leave off telling you of this, and speak of another matter, as you shall hear.⁴

554 In the year 1295 of the Incarnation of Christ there was a great disturbance in Genoa and in Venice, because the Venetians wanted to arm themselves to avenge the injury and shame inflicted on them by the Genoese. The Genoese likewise made preparations on their part to defend themselves.

555 The pope gave orders that the wisest men of their cities should be found, and he worked very hard to try to bring about an accord between them, but he could not, and so everyone returned to his own city. A most fierce and cruel war began between them, as you shall hear.

¹ Sometimes 'Constans' or 'Gosdantin'; Constantine I (1298–9).

² Leo (or Leon), usually styled Leo III (1306–7). There is some disagreement on the proper numbering of Cilician Armenia's kings of that name and some authorities refer to him as Leo IV.

³ Margaret of Lusignan.

⁴ Hetoum of Gorigos, an Armenian nobleman who became a Premonstratensian monk, discusses these events in Book III, Chapter XLIV of his *Flos historiarum terre orientis* (RHC Documents arméniens, vol. II, Paris, 1906, pp. 203–13 and 325–34). The entire work was translated into English in the sixteenth century and republished in 1988 (Hetoum, *A Lytell Chronycle: Richard Pynson's Translation (c 1520) of La Fleur des histoires de la terre d'Orient (c 1307)*, ed. Glenn Burger, Toronto, 1988). Book III, Chapter 44 exists in at least two versions in the RHC, and the Pynson/Burger translation (pp. 59–60) used the shorter version. For a longer, more complete version of this chapter, see Crawford, 'An Institution in Crisis', Appendix G:1, pp. 222–35.

556 The Venetians armed seventy galleys and came down suddenly on Pera, which is a Genoese town opposite Constantinople. They set fire to it and burned it, but they did no other damage, because the Genoese had had news of their coming and had gathered up all their goods and put them inside Constantinople. They even sank their *tarides* and let them go to the bottom. Then when the aforesaid galleys had left, they raised them up.¹

557 Next summer the Genoese armed eighty galleys and entered the Gulf of Venice. There were two admirals over them: one was Sir Tommaso Spinola with thirty galleys, and the other was Sir Gando de Mari with fifty galleys. They remained inside the Gulf of Venice until their rations began to run out,² and then they held a council. Sir Tommaso Spinola counseled that they should wait, because it would be a disgrace if the Venetians should come out after they had already left, but the other admiral, Sir Gando de Mari, said that he wished to leave anyway and go to Sardinia. The two admirals hurled vile epithets at each other,³ and in the end Sir Gando took fifty galleys, left, and went to Sardinia. Sir Tommaso Spinola, who had only thirty galleys, did not dare to linger, and so he too left and went to Sicily. There he stopped at a place called Catona.

558 After a few days the Venetians set out from Venice and came to the place where the Genoese had been waiting for them. There they found that they had already left. They thereupon became cocky, and went to Sicily where they found Sir Tommaso Spinola with his thirty galleys. They gave chase to him, but Tommaso Spinola had swift galleys there, and got away.

559 The Venetians galleys went around Sicily and in several places they captured Genoese *nefs* which were loading grain – a good seventeen of them – and the commune of Genoa was harmed by this.

560 When the next summer arrived, the commune of Genoa armed 177 galleys and twenty *parescalmes*, and they went to Sicily, to Messina. They also armed twenty-five galleys which they left to guard Genoa from the Pisans. Sir Manuele Zaccaria was the admiral of these twenty-five galleys. Sir Oberto Doria, a man

¹ According to John Pryor, not an uncommon practice. A galley might be stripped of equipment, the bungs opened, and the ship flooded. Because of the natural buoyancy of wood, the galley would remain awash rather than sinking completely, unless it were weighted with stones. In the latter case, divers could remove the stones and the galley might then float back to the surface, provided it had not been submerged too long (private communication to the translator, February 2002).

² Lit., 'until their biscuit began to run out', probably referring to the twice-baked bread known as hardtack or ship's biscuit, the standard diet of seamen until the twentieth century.

³ Lit., 'had villainous words'.

who was a long-time Genoese captain, was the admiral of the larger fleet. When this great expeditionary force had left Genoa, they sent letters to the commune of Venice, saying that 177 galleys had left Genoa and gone to Messina, and that if the Venetians wanted to prove their rights that they should come there and should bring their cartulary, because the Genoese were bringing theirs with them. And when the Genoese arrived at Messina, they sent another similar letter via a courier who went from Apulia to Venice.

561 The Venetians replied, telling the Genoese that they had only come willingly in such force because they knew that Venice would not be able to arm as many galleys so quickly. So it appeared, they said, that the Genoese did not genuinely wish to give battle; but if the Genoese had really come – or would like to come – to join battle, that the Venetians would have come out – and they would indeed come out to join battle with them.¹ At this, the Genoese turned back to Genoa with their whole fleet – which was, according to those who saw it, very great and noble, for all the great men of Genoa had vied with one another in arming their galleys, decorating them in their colours.²

So they turned around and came back in great peace and tranquillity.

562 When the year 1298 of Christ arrived, the Genoese armed eighty-four galleys and left Genoa and went into the Gulf of Venice. Their admiral was a valiant man, clever and very courageous, called Sir Lamba Doria. On the voyage, they encountered such bad weather that eight galleys were separated from the rest of the fleet. The storm drove these eight galleys to Apulia, but the storm worked out to their profit in the end, because they captured several Venetian vessels there which they otherwise would not have taken. The other seventy-six galleys crossed the Gulf and went to Sclavonia,³ to an island known as Curzola.⁴ There they awaited the Venetians.

563 When the commune of Venice saw that the Genoese had arrived, they armed their galleys, which numbered ninety-six (there should have been another thirteen from Zara). Their admiral was a great man of Venice named Calo Dandolo.⁵ These ninety-six galleys came within sight of the Genoese galleys on Saturday, the sixth of September. This was the Vigil of the Feast of Our Lady,⁶ though the Feast itself was supposed to be celebrated on the following Monday. On account of the feast,

¹ The details of the text here are rather opaque, and the translation has been considerably smoothed to fit what seems to be the general meaning.

² I.e., with their insignia or coats of arms.

³ The coast of modern Croatia.

⁴ Modern Kurkula or Kurcola; possibly the birthplace of Marco Polo, who was taken prisoner by the Venetians in this battle.

⁵ This refers to Andrea Dandolo 'Callonatus'.

⁶ The Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary is 8 September.

the Genoese galleys were burning candles this Saturday night in all their ships' boats¹ in honour of the Virgin Mary – which allowed the Venetians to see them clearly.

When Sir Lamba Doria, the Genoese admiral, saw that his men were making this light, he demanded to know why they were doing it. They told him that it was being done for the Feast of Our Lady which would be the next day, on Sunday. He sent orders, galley by galley, for them to extinguish the candles, since the Feast of Our Lady was not supposed to be the next day, which was Sunday, but rather would occur on Monday: 'We shall have a battle tomorrow with our enemies, and shall vanquish them, and then we shall celebrate the Feast of Our Lady and our victory'.

His words were prophetic, for that is how things turned out. The candles were all extinguished, and the Venetians marvelled at this, for they had seen a great light, and then it had quite gone out. They thought that this was because the Genoese had departed. As for their banner, which was still illuminated, the Venetians reasoned that this was a lantern which they had left on some small ship to mislead the Venetians into thinking that they were still holding their positions, and thus to gain time to get away.

In order to know the truth of the matter, the Venetians sent out one of their number named Menego Schiavo in a *columbet*. He ran across the Genoese galleys, and from a distance he could see that they were all drawn up in readiness. They came so near that he heard one of them say to the other: 'Will you want to buy the things I'm going to plunder tomorrow?' And the other answered: 'What time will the battle be?'

Menego came back and told their admiral that the galleys were all in their places, and that judging from the words which he had heard them saying, they were not at all inclined to flee, for they were intending to dress their lines and plan their actions.

564 When Sunday morning came, they approached each other and a considerable exchange of crossbow fire took place. The Venetians had decided to attack half of the Genoese galleys, so that when they had driven off that half, the other half would then be in their power and could be beaten. And they did as they had planned: with all ninety-six of their galleys, they attacked half of the Genoese fleet (which altogether only had seventy-six galleys, because eight of their galleys had been separated from them by bad weather and had not yet rejoined them, as I told you earlier).

So the Venetians mounted such a great attack on part of the Genoese fleet that they drove off eight² Genoese galleys. The other part of the Genoese fleet, seeing

¹ The term is *scalmo*, evidently a variant of *pariscalme*.

² Following Minervini's reading. Raynaud and the *RHC* both give the figure as thirteen. The manuscript is unclear.

that the Venetian galleys were making such a great attack and were not coming to battle them, quickly cut their hawsers, let their anchors go to the bottom of the sea, and moved to attack the Venetians. They did not flee, as the Venetians had thought they would. Thus the Venetians ended up in the midst of the Genoese, and the battle was as deadly as one could imagine. Whoever fell was a dead man, and they were being slaughtered and yet fought on, Christians, one against another.

In the end, the Venetians were badly defeated, losing seventy-eight galleys. The eighteen others escaped and went back from there to Venice.

565 Thereupon there was great sorrow in Venice, and also great fear, with some people preparing to set up defenses with siege engines and whatever else was necessary, fearing lest the Genoese galleys should decide to come there.

As for the Genoese, I will tell you what they did with all the Venetian galleys which they had acquired: they off-loaded whatever they wished from them, and then they burnt them all. The Venetian captain, Sir Calo Dandolo,¹ was taken prisoner and died of a continual fever² after arriving at Genoa, and many Venetian gentlemen were captured. So were a great number of common men, some 16,000 persons, not counting the dead and others who got to the land of the Sclavonians, a people who were not fond of the Venetians. And you should know that the Genoese would indeed have gone to Venice, except that they were worried about opposition within Genoa from the Grimaldis, people who were Guelfs. For this reason they returned at once to Genoa.

566 It happened that those Pisans who were still in prison in Genoa saw that it was intended that the Venetians should be put in their prison with them. They did not wish to tolerate this at all. So it was necessary to find another place for them, and they stayed in prison for a short time.

567 Now I will tell you what six Genoese galleys, which the commune armed, did. Their admiral was Sir Gavino Tartaro. He went to Venice, to the isle of St. Nicholas, which is Venice's port. There he planted the Genoese flag, and minted coins, and did many things that caused the Venetians great shame and humiliation.³ The Venetians armed eight galleys, so the six Genoese galleys left and went out of the Gulf, and the eight Venetian galleys went after them, just beyond the [mouth of the] Gulf. The six Genoese galleys then returned to the isle of St. Nicholas and were there for several days before leaving. They inflicted damage on several Venetian [vessels] off Apulia and then returned to Genoa. I am quite unable to say whether these six galleys that I have been telling you about did these things before

¹ Again, Andrea Dandolo 'Callonatus'.

² Probably a form of malaria.

³ Flag-raising and coin-minting are symbolic assertions of sovereignty.

the defeat of the Venetian vessels or afterwards, but they certainly did them, as I have told you and as everyone knows.

568 Then God, in His great mercy which defeats the power of the Devil, in a moment brought them together in an agreement, in peace and amity.

569 This peace was made and negotiated, and they gave two fine cities in Lombardy as guarantees to each other (though I do not know the names of them), with Sir Tommaso Spinola acting for the commune of Genoa and Sir Romeo Quirino di Ca' Maggiore for the commune of Venice. And God in His mercy kept them in peace and amity.¹

570 In a similar way, God arranged all good things together, for the Pisans made their peace with the commune of Genoa, and the Pisans gave them 100,000 gold florins and handed over the Judge of Cinarca in Corsica, who was put at the mercy of the commune of Genoa. They held him in prison along with the Pisans and Venetians, where the Judge of Cinarca later died.²

571 When the year of Jesus Christ 1298 arrived,³ the Genoese fought amongst themselves within the city of Genoa, divided into factions which are known as Guelphs and Ghibellines. The Grimaldis and other families took the part of the Guelphs; on the Ghibelline side were the men of the houses of Spinola and Doria and other families. Some people were on this side and others on the other. The war lasted several days, and came very near bringing their city to destruction, a city which is most lovely and prosperous and contains many wise men. But their good sense failed them so badly in this that in order to advance the interests of their factions, they were willing to destroy themselves, a thing which seems to me to be the work of the Devil. All Tuscany and Lombardy and Sicily and Apulia and the land of the Principate and Calabria were affected by this evil disunity. It even began to spread to the clergy, at least as far as backing sides, though not to the point of open war.

Many men were slain in both factions because of this battle. In the end the Guelphs were defeated, and a large group of them left Genoa, particularly all the Grimaldis, who gathered inside some galleys which they seized in the port of Genoa. They went to Provence, where they captured a castle known as Monaco, which is part of the coastlands of Genoa and its commune, and the Grimaldis and some of their allies made it their base.⁴ They robbed and captured a number of Genoese and their vessels, that is to say those of the opposing faction, and came to

¹ For a brief discussion of this treaty, see Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 183.

² For the Judge of Cinarca, see above, §440–41.

³ The text reads 1296 – an obvious mistake.

⁴ This is the beginning of the association of the Grimaldi family with Monaco.

an agreement and arranged with their allies to attack Genoa by land, while they came by sea with seven armed galleys. They arranged this action for the morning of a certain day, and it took place just as they had planned. But they came into the city of Genoa by sea at night, and attacked the port at midnight.

572 The Ghibellines armed themselves and went to meet them. By far the largest part of the population was allied with them, while those men who were supposed to help the Grimaldis let them down. And because they were not fully committed and were few in number, the Grimaldis were defeated. There were some casualties on both sides. Some people were captured and put into prison, but in the end they made peace with each other, and the captives were released from prison and the castle turned over to the commune.¹

573 In this same year of the Incarnation of Christ 1298² there was a war between the king of France, Philip IV the Fair and the king of England, Edward I, who wished to marry his son to the daughter of the count of Flanders.³ The count of Flanders sided with the king of England at his instigation and because he had given him money. The count supported Lord Edward, King of England, with all his might; the count was angry at the king of France because this [proposed] marriage displeased him, and as a result he had snatched away the daughter of the count of Flanders and was keeping her under his own control.

574 The count of Flanders sent his son Robert to the king of France, telling him that he ought to release the girl, but the king of France had no wish to do this. Because of this, the count of Flanders involved a number of other counts in this war, and many barons of the land allied with the king of England. In this way, this war began between two great and mighty lords, though it later ended in a good peace treaty purely by the will of our Lord God.

Now I shall tell you of another war which occurred.

¹ The Grimaldis regained direct control of Monaco by about 1330. See Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese*, p. 209.

² The text, here as above at §571, mistakenly reads 1296.

³ The *RHC* and Raynaud editions supply the following text: '...who wished to marry his son to the daughter of the count of Flanders...'. Minervini's edition does not interpolate the entire phrase, but it seems necessary to the sense of the story. The phrase does not appear in the manuscript, although it is broken by a change of folio face and it is reasonable to suppose that the phrase might have been omitted accidentally. I have included it for the sake of sense and continuity.

The count of Flanders was Guy III Dampierre; the daughter was Philippa (or Phillipina). See Joseph Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair*, Princeton, 1980, pp. 328–9.

575 In 1299 of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Frederic, who held the kingdom of Sicily, armed forty galleys.¹ He himself was captain and lord over them, and Sir Corrado² Doria, a citizen of Genoa, was the admiral. King Charles II armed another forty galleys; their captain was the king of Aragon,³ brother of the aforesaid Frederic, because he was in league with the pope and with King Charles and had sworn to maintain the war against his brother Frederic and against the men of Sicily.

576 The sons of King Charles II – the duke and the prince⁴ – were in this battle, and Roger of Loria,⁵ who had been the admiral of Sicily, was admiral of King Charles' galleys. When these galleys encountered each other, there was a great battle. Many men were killed on both sides, but in the end King Charles' men prevailed and Frederic's galleys were defeated. Many men were taken prisoner, including Sir Corrado Doria, and King Charles' men captured a town named Catania and other castles.

577 In this year there appeared a star which had a long tail, and which appeared at dawn one day. It appeared in the east and was visible till midday, and it could be seen in this way for a good eight days in the month of January.⁶

578 In this same year, I must tell you, the kingdom of Armenia was in very bad shape and suffering greatly at the hands of the Saracens, who caused it dreadful damage. The Saracens took several castles from them, namely Roche Guillaume,⁷ a

¹ Frederic (1296–1337), son of Peter III of Aragon, was king of the island of Sicily (Trinacria) in opposition to the Angevin dynasty now based in Naples.

² Or, Conrad.

³ James II (1291–1327).

⁴ Probably Philip, Prince of Taranto and Prince of Achaea (d. 1331), and John, Duke of Durazzo (d. 1335).

⁵ Roger of Loria's family had been exiled from Sicily by Charles of Anjou because of their Hohenstaufen sympathies; Roger became a very effective admiral for the Aragonese. See John Pryor, 'The Naval Battles of Roger of Lauria', *Journal of Medieval History* 9 (1983), pp. 179–216 (repr. in Pryor, *Commerce, Shipping and Naval Warfare in the Medieval Mediterranean*).

⁶ A comet, and apparently the first comet to have had its orbit determined primarily by European observers, according to Kronk, *Cometography*, pp. 225–6. It is mentioned by a variety of other European and Asian texts. It seems to have appeared only in 1299. Kronk quotes an unpublished translation made by David Cook in 1998 of the fifteenth-century Muslim work *Suluk li-ma'rifat duwal al-muluk*, which claimed that the comet appeared on January 16, 1299, the night in which Sultan Lachin was murdered (Kronk, *Cometography*, p. 227; Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, p. 110, gives the date of Lachin's murder as the night of January 15).

⁷ A Templar castle of disputed location. See 'Rocca Guillelmi' in the Gazetteer of *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. Boase, p. 178, and also Barber, *The New Knighthood*, map on p. 78, p. 79, and notes 54 and 56 on p. 349.

castle named Hromgla¹ and one named Serventikar,² and a cave named Pertous, which is very strong.³ Then they came into the plain of Armenia and took a castle named *Betil*,⁴ and sent their officers to the town of Ayas, on the seacoast. Thus they lorded it over almost all of Armenia.⁵

579 Hetoum II, the Armenian king, kept to the mountains in great fear and misery, nor did he dare to move towards the plain. In the end the Tartars, whose vassal he was, came to his aid as I shall tell you. But I want to tell you some things about the Tartars, so that you will know their beginnings and how they came to be.

580 You know how I have told you before in this book about Hülegü, who took Damascus and Aleppo, Hamah and Hims, and how one of his emirs called Kitbogha took Sidon in Syria, and how the Saracens defeated him outside Tiberias in a place called Ayn Jalut.⁶

581 The Tartars are a Mongol people; they are called this because they come from a country called Mongolia, which lies by the Ocean Sea. Their country is enclosed by very high mountains facing both sea and the land.⁷ It is said that Alexander the Great blocked up a narrow pass so that they could not come out of their country and go into any other lands.⁸ He boxed them in so that they might not come out, till one of their valiant men named Genghis Khan,⁹ a very enterprising man, got out of that place by his vigor and ingenuity. From a high mountain, he saw fair cities scattered across the land.¹⁰ He had brought some other men of his to the spot, and

¹ Or, Qal'at ar-Rum, Arabic for 'castle of the Romans'; also called Ranculat.

² Or, Savranda.

³ A fortified cavern complex in an unidentified location. See the entry for 'Pertounk' in *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia*, ed. Boase, p. 176.

⁴ An unidentified location. The memory of the place names has been effaced over the centuries by Turkish ethnic cleansing and genocide.

⁵ On the castles of Armenia in general, see Edwards, *Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia*.

⁶ See above, §§299–303 and §§308–310.

⁷ The author's grasp of Mongolian geography is exceedingly defective.

⁸ This is a reference to the medieval legend that Alexander the Great walled up the Turks and the peoples of Gog and Magog, among others. The story is found in the Alexander legends; see, for example, *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. G. V. Smithers, vol. I, Early English Text Society 227, London, 1952, pp. 330–33. According to *Kyng Alisaunder*, these peoples were supposed to remain walled up until the Anti-Christ came to lead them out. There is a variant of this story, in which the Tartars themselves are not walled up, but know about the enclosed peoples of Gog and Magog, in Joinville's *Life of St. Louis (Joinville & Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades)*, p. 283). For a brief discussion of the origins and other variants of the legend, see *Kyng Alisaunder*, ed. Smithers, vol. II, Early English Text Society 237, London, 1957, pp. 136–7, note to 5968ff; and David Morgan, *The Mongols*, pp. 175–8.

⁹ The author calls him *Checan*. Genghis Khan died in 1227; much of what follows in the text is inaccurate.

¹⁰ Again, cf. Joinville in *Joinville & Villehardouin*, p. 285.

he spoke to them and told them that the lands which he saw seemed to him to be more beautiful and more pleasant to live in than their own country was. They themselves came down to the foot of that mountain and saw the men of that country passing by, men who seemed exceedingly noble and richly dressed. But the men fled from them in terror when they saw how ugly and small-eyed the Tartars were. Afterwards the Tartars returned to their own place, and reported what they had seen to the other Tartars. And whatever this Genghis Khan said to them, they believed.¹

582 The Tartars lived without bread, because they knew nothing about bread except that it exists. They ate meat; that is to say, when a horse or an ass or a dog died, they ate it. But they derived their main sustenance from the milk of mares and ewes, and from wild herbs and from fowl. They had no gold or iron or any other metal.

583 When this Genghis Khan saw what he had seen, as I have recounted to you, he came forth with all those who wished to follow him. They were so great a company of men, riding bareback, that they could not have been numbered. They set out to go eastwards, into a country called Cathay.² When the men of Cathay saw such a great multitude of mighty men, they surrendered to them and obeyed their orders. So the Tartars remained there in a country that is great and vast and most delightful, and in this place the Tartars learned how to dress themselves in clothes and eat various kinds of foods, and they learned about gold and silver and iron weapons and other armaments; and about saddles and maces and body armor³ in the manner of that land, which today are called 'tartaresque'.

584 The Tartars found the men of those lands to be cowardly and slack as warriors,⁴ and self-indulgent in their lifestyle. They captured them easily. As a result, they rode across the land more confidently and conquered a city called *Hausa*,⁵ which is the greatest city in the Orient. And (if you can believe what merchants reported to my lord the master of the Temple, that they themselves had seen) the city was two days' journey in breadth and length.

¹ It hardly needs to be pointed out that this romantic account of the origin of the Mongols is not entirely accurate.

² That is, northern China.

³ Lit.: 'cuirasses'.

⁴ Lit., something like 'flabby, mushy, cowardly soldiers'. The terms are quite contemptuous.

⁵ Hang-chow, today called Hangzhou; often called Quinsay (derived from the Chinese 'temporary capital') by non-Chinese in the medieval period. It was the capital city of the southern Song dynasty.

There Genghis Khan made his and his people's capital. There he died, near a fountain – either by a snakebite or else by water which he drank from the fountain, for he was found dead near the fountain and the snake.¹

Four sons survived him. One, named Berke,² went towards the Great Sea³ and conquered up to Hungary, and two others conquered other provinces, and one of them, whose name was Hülegü, came towards our parts. I will leave the subject of these others, and speak to you of this Hülegü, of what he did at first in our own time.

585 This Hülegü came towards Baghdad, chief among all the the Saracen lands. This is where the caliph has his seat, he who is in the stead of Mohammed and is his vicar. Hülegü came in against the Saracens and fought with them for several years, and he laid waste and burnt and knocked down all the dependencies of Baghdad.

586 The caliph saw that the Tartars had thus oppressed and injured and devastated his lands, so he recruited more than 100,000 horsemen from his lands, and kept them together for a great while. The Tartars made no move to advance any further, so the caliph discharged all those men-at-arms whom he had signed up.

When they were gone from Baghdad, Hülegü came right up outside the city of Baghdad with all his host and besieged it closely. That night the Tartars even made a trench all the way round the city of Baghdad, and diverted water into this trench from a river, so that the city of Baghdad was completely surrounded and no one could come in or out.

587 When the caliph saw this, he no longer had the power to raise men-at-arms or any other kind of help. He was thoroughly terrified, for he was cowardly⁴ and faint of heart and lacking in valour. His people, too, were cowardly in feats of arms, and were cowards⁵ – people who were used to self-indulgence and ease, so that they could not help him by force of arms.

¹ This too is inaccurate.

² Berke was the son of Genghis Khan's eldest son, Jochi. Hülegü was the son of Genghis Khan's youngest son, Tolui.

³ I.e., the Black Sea.

⁴ Lit., 'caitiff', meaning base, vile, lacking in proper spirit, possessing traits suitable to a slave or low-born person rather than a free noble or a king. The same word is used in beginning of the next sentence ('cowardly in feats of arms'). It is difficult to render the precise gradations of contemptible behaviour made by the author into modern English. For a medieval discussion of self-indulgence vs. the proper behaviour of a fighting man, see *The Book of Chivalry of Geoffroi de Charny*, trans. Richard Kaeuper and Elspeth Kennedy, Philadelphia, 1996, pp. 123–9.

⁵ This time, lit., 'cowards'.

So the caliph took counsel with his emirs as to what he ought to do. They counselled him to send messengers to Hülegü, king of the Tartars, to treat for peace. Hülegü spoke to the messengers and perceived and realized that the caliph and the men of Baghdad were in dire straits. He authorized everything that the messengers asked for regarding peace, saying that the caliph should come out to speak to him and that he had a great desire to see him. Thereupon the caliph trusted him and came out to him, bringing many of his great emirs with him. Then Hülegü drove his men inside Baghdad, and when he had a large force of men within Baghdad, Hülegü proceeded to seize the caliph's person, along with the emirs who had accompanied him. And Hülegü took the city, and he had molten gold poured down the caliph's gullet, because the caliph had neglected to spend gold in defence of himself and his lands, and so now had lost not only the gold and the land, but also his life.¹

588 After the mighty Hülegü, king of the Tartars, had conquered Baghdad, he rode on and came into Turkey,² and took the city of Konya, and he captured Caesarea the Great³ (which they call Kayseri), and took all the land of Turkey up to the sea.

589 Then he went to the Coldwater⁴ and captured a city called Mosul, and then came into our parts and captured Aleppo and Hamah and Hims and Damascus, as I have told you earlier in this book.⁵ And I have told you how the Saracens defeated the Tartars at Tiberias,⁶ those whom Hülegü had left in that place when he returned into his own land.

And now I want to tell you about the heirs who came after this Hülegü.

590 Hülegü died shortly after returning to his own lands. His son Abaqa was made lord in his stead. After Abaqa, Arghun (Abaqa's son) became lord.⁷

591 This Arghun greatly loved the Christians, and repeatedly sent to the pope and to the king of France to point out that with his and their forces together they might

¹ The conquest of Baghdad by the Mongols took place in 1258. The legend that Hülegü poured molten gold down the caliph's throat is found in other places; see Minervini, p. 379, n. 351.3. According to Joinville, the Mongols had merely offered the caliph jewels to eat (again because he had been stingy in spending money on defence) – see Joinville, p. 311.

² Note that Asia Minor is already being called 'Turkey'.

³ As opposed to other cities of the same name, such as Caesarea in Palestine.

⁴ Lit., *Aigues Froides*; see above, §404. As noted above, the precise location of the river is uncertain.

⁵ See above, §407–8.

⁶ I.e., at Ayn Jalut.

⁷ This is not a complete account of the succession. See Minervini, p. 379, n. 354.1 and 355.1–2.

destroy the Saracens.¹ It happened that this Arghun sent one of his brothers, who was called Mengü Temür, against the Saracens. He fought with them on the plain of Hims and beat the greater part of them.² He started to the rear, thinking that he had entirely won – but the Saracens rallied thereafter and defeated the Tartars, just as I have told you they did above. I have told you the year in which this took place.

592 A short time after this Mengü Temür returned, he died, and after a few days Arghun, king of the Tartars, also died. He was survived by his son Ghazan, who became king of the Tartars.³

593 At the beginning of his lordship, this Ghazan did a great deal of harm to the Christians in the East. He had the Christian churches demolished, and he greatly loved the Saracens, and was himself Saracen. The Tartars are idolaters, but from the time when they came to live in the lands of the Saracens, all the children who were born to them became Saracens.⁴

594 Despite the fact that this Ghazan had become a Saracen, he continued constantly to seek ways to do harm to the sultan and the Saracens.⁵ To this end, he often sent messengers to the Christian kings, and made great excuses for the churches which the Saracens had destroyed in his territory, saying that it had been done by two of his great emirs who were Saracens, men who were brothers and who greatly hated the Christians. But as it pleased God, these two emirs afterwards fell from favour with Ghazan, who had their heads cut off. It is not possible to say why he did this, but I think that it was the work of God, for after they were dead the Christians of the East had it easier, and Ghazan himself looked more kindly on them and commanded the Christians to rebuild their churches.

595 We have told you how the Tartars came out of their own lands, and how the brothers went their separate ways, and how the one who came in our direction was

¹ There may be more wishful thinking and even propaganda in this statement than meets the eye. Christian writers, including Hetoum of Gorios and others, made the case after 1291 that the Mongols had been eager to cooperate with the Christians against the Mamluks in the mid-thirteenth century, and thus were ideal partners for a reconquest of the Holy Land in the early fourteenth. But there is little evidence to support the idea that the Mongols were anything but a serious threat to Frankish control of the Holy Land before 1260. See David Morgan, *The Mongols*, Oxford, 1986, p. 155, and Peter Jackson, 'The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260', *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), pp. 481–513.

² This battle took place in 1281.

³ This occurred in 1295; Ghazan became a Muslim upon his accession, and reigned until 1304.

⁴ It is interesting to note that the author distinguishes between idolaters and the Muslims (Saracens), something that not all Western writers had done. In addition, the author is aware that the Mongols were culturally assimilated by the conquered Persians.

⁵ Despite Ghazan's conversion to Islam, he continued to wage war on the Mamluk sultanate of Egypt.

called Hülegü. And we have told you of all those who followed him, the one after the other, up to this Ghazan of whom I have told you, who was lord from the time that Syria was lost and Armenia was also in bad shape, as I have told you.

Now I want to tell you of the men and the events pertaining to this Ghazan, and of the battle which he had with the Saracens.

596 Something happened next which greatly hastened Ghazan's coming. One of his emirs was in Turkey as captain there on his behalf.¹ His name was Sulemish. He displayed such great arrogance that he did not want to do anything for Ghazan, who was his lord. Ghazan had sent summons to him several times, but he would never come. On account of this, Ghazan ordered out a great host to attack him.

But when this Sulemish saw the great host coming against him, he was very much afraid. He left and went to Damascus and asked the sultan of Babylon to help him with men-at-arms so that he could fight against these men. The sultan gave him 1,000 horsemen from the region of Aleppo. They passed through Armenia, and the king of Armenia dared not object because he lacked the power to do so.

597 Thus came this host into Turkey. When the Tartars who had come there saw that Sulemish had brought Saracens against them, they were thoroughly enraged. Immediately, they gave battle to them and defeated them at once. Nor did the Saracens dare to withstand them. They scattered in flight into the high mountains of Armenia. The inhabitants of the mountains, who are all Christian Armenians, saw the Saracen host thus defeated and unable to find its way. Seeing this, they assailed them and fell on them and captured and slew nearly all of them.

598 When Ghazan heard that the sultan of Babylon had given aid to his enemy Sulemish and had sent his men to attack Ghazan, he was thoroughly enraged, and summoned his men hastily and set out to go into the region of Aleppo.

599 And in the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1299, the sultan of Babylon summoned his own men hastily. He got them together and set out to go through the *berrie*, which means through the desert.² He got to Gaza, which is the entrance to Syria from Egypt, and there the sultan received word that Ghazan was certainly coming there. So he rode on and in six days' journey reached Damascus. This sultan of whom I am speaking was very young, only twenty-five years old. He was called al-Malik [al-Nasir, and was the son of al-Malik] al-Mansur³ (who conquered Tripoli);

¹ I.e., acting as viceroy of Turkey.

² *Berrieh*, 'desert or wilderness', a version of an Arabic word usually particularly to denote the desert between Syria and Egypt.

³ The interpolation follows Minervini, but it is necessary to the sense of the passage. Al-Nasir Muhammad was the son of Qalawun; for his reign, see Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, pp. 107-20, and Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, pp. 85-124.

Note that 'al-Malik' means 'the king' and is part of his title, not his name.

he was the brother of the other sultan who conquered Acre, called al-Malik al-Ashraf. (At that time in Babylon there were a number of sultans in a short period of time, while this one was yet a child. However, in the end he himself became sultan.)

600 By now Ghazan was near Aleppo. The Saracens and Tartars came in sight of each other, and both sides set about making preparations, for they were enemies.

601 Ghazan therefore drew up his men and deployed his *battles*. However, he no longer had all his men with him, nor had he expected to have to give battle until the next day. All the same, he attacked the Saracens vigourously with the men he had, so that the shock of the impact of the two groups was very great. The Saracens, who had come on barded horses, armed with *cuirasses* and iron helmets, pressed in on the Tartars with couched lances and drove them back nearly four bowshots towards the rear, and slew a great many of them there with lance thrusts.

602 When the king of the Tartars saw his men driven off the field in this way, with the Turks penetrating so forcefully in amongst them, both better mounted and better armed than his men, he became afraid lest his men should lose heart in the combat and be put to flight. So he hit on a daring tactic which horsemen are unaccustomed to carry out in combat: he dismounted and commanded all his men to do likewise and to use their mounts as barricades so that the Turks could not penetrate in amongst them. The Tartars then picked up their bows, which were more useful to them there than to the Saracens, and they shot showers of arrows at the Turks. They wounded and slew so many of the Turks and their horses that the Turks had to retire.

In the meantime, Ghazan's rearguard arrived. Ghazan saw his men approaching and the Saracens' men retiring, so he gave the command to mount their horses. They all mounted up and pressed in vigorously on the *battles* of the Saracens. At this point the Saracens were defeated, and they put up no further defence. The affair lasted until nighttime, and many of them were killed; if night had not fallen, even more would have died.

603 When the sultan was defeated in this battle (which took place on the twentieth day of the month of December in this year of 1299 of Christ), he fled into the region around Damascus, where he encamped a part of his host.¹ But he dared not remain there, for fear had entered into the hearts of him and his men, so that they were always thinking that the Tartars were right behind them.²

¹ Irwin gives the date of the battle of Wadi al-Khazinder as 23 December (Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 100).

² Lit.: 'that the Tartars were at their shoulders'.

604 The sultan left Damascus at midnight and fled toward the region around Gaza. He did not keep to the road nor maintain the integrity of his units,¹ but went forward as best he could. Along the way a great misfortune befell him, for there was much rain and cold weather, as it was December, and many of them took sick and died. They also lost a great many of their horses.

605 It is said that the sultan entered Babylon with just fifteen riders, because he had lost a great number of his men in the battle, and of those who had escaped, many fled by the roads, some here, others there. Of those who came with the sultan, many died of cold and disease, as I have told you. Some fled towards the sea, and I will tell you what happened to them. They went to Krak des Chevaliers, in the neighborhood of Tripoli, and from there to Jubail. Among these men, who numbered 4,000, there were four emirs, one of whom was named *Sandamour*,² who afterwards was 'bailli' and 'king of the emirs'. Another one was called *Hanimy*,³ and the third was *Douveydar*.⁴ I do not know the name of the last one.

When the peasants of the regions of Tripoli and Jubail, who were all Christian,⁵ saw these emirs arriving with their defeated men, they fell upon them. Of the 4,000 Saracens, only the four emirs and some three or four hundred of their company escaped, and this only through the strength of their horses, for they were well-mounted.

606 This great host had come out from Babylon with great arrogance and bombast, comprising at least 70,000 horsemen, of whom by far the greater part were on barded horses, armed with *cuirasses* and fine iron helmets. In the aforesaid battle around 25,000 of them had died, and the remnant were in tatters and brought to naught. They set out along the coasts and by other places to get back to Babylon, but even many of those who did get back to Babylon after the sultan had arrived there died as a result of the hardships which they had encountered along the way.

¹ Lit., 'come roy[s]', *conrois*, units of roughly regimental or battalion equivalence.

² The emir Sayf al-Din Esendemür, apparently a Georgian by birth, was governor of Tripoli and the Syrian coast; he died in 1310 or 1311. Because of his origins, he was known as 'al-Kurji' (the Georgian).

³ According to Minervini, possibly a corruption of Izz al-Din Aybak al-Turk al-Hamawi (p. 380, n. 369.2).

⁴ Or, al-Dawadar (Minervini, pp. 297 and p. 380, n. 369.2). Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 39, says that 'the *dawadar* was the military officer charged with supervising the work of the civilian scribes of the chancery'.

⁵ Some, though not all, would have been Maronite Christians. To this day, the area is still strongly Christian.

607 It had been many years since the hosts of Babylon had been defeated.¹ Rather, they had been victorious over their enemies, and so such great pride had welled up within them that they thought that they could defeat any people in the world.

608 Now they were so demoralized that they did not even feel secure there in Babylon, and many of them fled away in boats on the river, and others went out into the most desolate wastes. Seeing this, several of our Christian merchants, who had been in Alexandria and Damietta, reported on their return that all Babylon had been conquered.²

609 Now I want to tell you what Ghazan and the Tartars, his men, did when they had defeated the Saracens. Ghazan camped on the battlefield, and the next day he set out after the defeated Saracens, but not very forcefully, because his mounts were very weary from the journey which they had made and from the battle and from the dearth of fodder.³ However, he rode after the Saracens as far as Gaza, and then headed for Damascus, rounding up and slaughtering the Saracens along the way.

610 The king of Armenia, Hetoum II, who was called 'Brother John the Franciscan' as I have told you elsewhere, was along on this expedition. He did a great deal of harm to the Saracens, inflicting damage and injury in every way that he could.

611 After Ghazan had defeated the Saracens, he returned to his own country, leaving one of his emirs in Damascus in his stead, a man whose name was Mulay and who had 10,000 Tartars with him.

Now there was a great emir of Babylon named Kipchak,⁴ and four other emirs along with him, who had fled Babylon and gone to the Tartars the previous year,⁵ fearing lest the sultan should seize them and kill them. These men had greatly encouraged the action of the Tartars against the Saracens, and had gone with them, for they were convinced that the sultan hated them greatly. Ghazan had left these five emirs, Kipchak and the other four, with Mulay in Damascus when he returned to his own country. So it happened that this Kipchak and his companions remained in Damascus with Mulay, because they were very much afraid of the sultan on

¹ According to Irwin, this was the only time the Mongols significantly defeated the Mamluks (*Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 100).

² The rumour to this effect was widespread. See Sylvia Schein, 'Gesta Dei per Mongolos 1300. The genesis of a non-event', *English Historical Review* 94 (1979), pp. 805–19.

³ David Morgan has suggested that a lack of fodder may have been a serious impediment, one which generally prevented the Mongols from establishing a permanent presence in Syria ('The Mongols in Syria, 1260–1300', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Edbury, pp. 231–5).

⁴ Sayf al-Din Qibjaq.

⁵ In October 1298.

account of the misdeeds they had committed, as I have explained to you, and they sent messages to their friends in Babylon, saying that they should effect a reconciliation with the sultan. At this, the sultan issued them a pardon and sent them a safe-conduct. Then Kipchak and the other four emirs left, without Mulay realizing what was going on, and they went to Babylon.¹

612 When Mulay saw that Kipchak and his other companions had fled and gone back to Babylon, he very much feared treason, and on account of this he and his men left and returned to their own country.

Now I have told you all about the events surrounding Ghazan and how he defeated the host of the Saracens.

613 You should know that in this battle which you have heard about, Ghazan's host (which contained 100,000 horsemen) lost only 100 Tartar horsemen.

614 After Ghazan had left, some Christians from Cyprus went to Jubail and to Nephin and into the regions of those coasts. I will name them for you: Guy, Count of Jaffa;² and Sir John of Antioch;³ and their knights. They intended to go to Armenia, which was under the control of the Tartar host.

But when they saw that Ghazan, the king of the Tartars, had left the area, they too turned to leave. Luckily the count found a Genoese galley at Jubail, belonging to someone named Jacopo d'Avogaro, a man who had taken and seized Jubail both for his commune and for himself. But when Ghazan had left, the Saracens of those parts rallied and advanced towards Jubail, whereupon the galley and the other small vessels took off the count, Sir John of Antioch and the other Christians. As they were withdrawing, the Saracens attacked them, so that many Christians were slain and drowned. Count Guy of Jaffa and Sir John of Antioch and the Genoese galley and the other Christians returned to Cyprus.

615 In the year 1300 of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, King Henry of Jerusalem and of Cyprus, together with the Temple and the Hospital, armed 16 galleys and five *salties* and several *panfiles* and left Famagusta on 20 July. The captain of the armed men was Sir Raymond Viscount,⁴ and the admiral of the

¹ The author's version of events is defective. See Holt, *Age of the Crusades*, pp. 110–11, and Irwin, *Middle East in the Middle Ages*, pp. 99–101.

² Guy of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa (d. 1304) was the son of John, the celebrated jurist (d. 1266).

³ John of Antioch, a member of a well-established Cypriot knightly family, later supported Amalric of Tyre's seizure of power in 1306.

⁴ The Viscount family were another well-established knightly family in Cyprus, possibly descended from the hereditary viscounts of Tripoli.

galleys was Sir Baldwin of Picquigny;¹ they went to the land of Egypt to a place called Rosetta, where one of the mouths of the river which is called the Nile and which flows through Babylon is situated. There they found five armed Saracen galleys which set off upstream as soon as they saw our flotilla. Our men took counsel as to whether or not to go after them, but they took so long over their discussions that though they decided to follow them, it came to naught, for the Saracens were already far away. So our men put poop to land and disembarked their horses which numbered 100,² and rode out and went a league and found a village which was named al-Jadiyah, and sacked and burned it. While our men were there, they came upon forty mounted Saracens, who did not dare to approach our men. Our men returned to their galleys, and then the Saracens saw Ghazan's banner on our galleys. Ghazan's envoys, whom Ghazan had sent to the king in Cyprus, had placed it there and had raised it over our galleys. Because of Ghazan's banner, four Tartars who were with the forty mounted Saracens that I have mentioned and who had been held there by the Saracens as if in prison, spurred their horses and came galloping up to our galleys. Our men received them and their mounts and learned of the great disaster that had befallen the Saracens from the great loss they had sustained from Ghazan's victory.

616 The men left Rosetta and came to the port of Alexandria, where there they entered the port of the Saracens.³ Now no Christian had ever once dared enter there, since the Saracens closely guarded it and did not want the Christians to know about it. Our men found it to be a very fine port.

617 Then our galleys left the port of Alexandria and came to the port of Acre, and found around thirty men and horses and at least three hundred foot sergeants. Our sergeantry landed and fought with the Saracens I have mentioned and defeated them, killing several.

618 Then our galleys left the port of Acre, and came up along the coast to the isle of Tortosa.⁴ They approached the town of Tortosa, found a hundred horsemen there, and attacked them. The Saracens dared not give battle to our men. But our men attacked them, and the Saracens were put to flight, and our men caught up with six of them, whom they brought down and slew. Then they left the place, and came to Maraclea the next day.

¹ A member of a knightly family already in the East before 1187. Both Baldwin and Raymond later supported Amalric of Tyre.

² Horse transports backed onto beaches because their ports were at the stern of the ship; see *taride* in the Glossary.

³ There were two harbours at Alexandria. One was for western merchants, who were forbidden entrance into the other (the 'port of the Saracens').

⁴ I.e., Ruad.

619 The Hospitallers attacked Maraclea with two *panfiles* and a number of sergeants who were in their company, and entered it. The sergeants set about sacking the town, and eating and drinking – but when the Saracens who were outside the town realized that our men had only landed two *panfiles*, and that the galleys were anchored offshore, they hurled themselves on the Hospitallers, and drove them back to their *panfiles*, killing around twenty sergeants and one of our knights. Thereupon our men departed from Maraclea, and set sail for Cyprus.

620 In the same year, a messenger from Ghazan, king of the Tartars, came to Cyprus, saying that Ghazan was going to come west during that winter, and that he wanted the king and all the Franks to come and meet him in Armenia. So the king and his men made ready to do this.

621 In November of the same year the lord of Tyre, who was brother to King Henry II of Cyprus and was called Sir Amalric¹ of Lusignan and was constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem, went out to the isle of Tortosa (which is about half a league² from the town of Tortosa, though to go from the island direct to the mainland is much shorter³). Amalric brought with him a force of three hundred men and horses, and the Temple and the Hospital had as many or more. They landed on the island and went on to the town of Tortosa, where they stayed for several days. But they saw that the Tartars were delaying their arrival too long, and that the Saracens had a great host of men to crush them with, so they withdrew from the town back to the island.⁴

622 When the month of February came, a great emir of the Tartars named Qutlugh-shah arrived in the region of Antioch with well-nigh 40,000 horsemen. From there he sent a summons to King Hetoum II of Armenia ('Brother John' the Franciscan), who came to him, bringing with him Sir Guy of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, and John, Lord of Jubail.⁵ And when they were before Qutlugh-shah, he told them how Ghazan had been coming, but serious illness had befallen him on the way, and he told them of the great winds and cold weather that they had experienced on their way, and that many of their mounts were dead. Qutlugh-shah raided all the land of Aleppo as far as Homs, and then returned to his own country without doing anything further.

¹ Or, Amaury.

² Between 1.2 and 2.3 miles (a league is between 2.4 and 4.6 miles). According to John France, the distance from today's town of Tortosa to Ruad is less than a mile (private communication to the translator, May 2002).

³ It is less than 1000 feet from the mainland; see §635, below.

⁴ But not entirely; see §623, below.

⁵ A cousin of the John Embriaco of Jubail who had been executed by Prince Bohemond VII in 1282 (above, §410).

623 When Sir Amalric, Lord of Tyre, and the Templars and the Hospitallers and the other good men who were on the isle of Tortosa heard that the Tartars had turned back, they decided to retire to Cyprus. And they did go back, since [even] before their return the Saracens had gathered and had moved against the town of Tortosa, in order to do them harm. Our men resisted sturdily and brought down and slew some Saracens. But our men suffered great hardships.¹

624 In [the year] 1301 of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Pope Boniface VIII sent his messengers to France to Sir Charles [of Valois], brother of King Philip IV of France (who was a handsome king); he requested that Sir Charles come to him, promising him much wealth and honour. Thereupon Sir Charles, who was married to the daughter² of the [Latin] emperor of Constantinople, thought that the pope wished to give him much aid in recovering that empire which the Greeks held, so he brought six hundred armoured knights from France with him and came through Lombardy and Tuscany. When he arrived in Rome, the pope and the cardinals received him with great honour, and the pope gave him the lordship of Ancona and the Romagna.

625 This Sir Charles, brother of the king of France, did not stay long with the pope. He went into Tuscany, to the city of Florence, where he was received with great honours. They presented him with 600 horsemen. And the other cities of Tuscany gave him similar honours and favours. This Sir Charles departed from Tuscany and went into Naples, to the Principate, where King Charles II was, and made arrangements there to go over to Sicily with a number of French barons. He crossed over in the month of April.

Now I will leave off talking about them, because I want to tell you about a great controversy between the pope and the king of France.

626 It was in the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ 1303³ that Pope Boniface VIII sent a forceful citation to the king of France, to the effect that he

¹ In §621, above, the author had indicated that the Christians had withdrawn entirely from the town of Tortosa, but apparently they had left a rearguard behind.

² Catherine of Courtenay, titular Empress of Constantinople 1285–1308 and daughter of Philip of Courtenay, titular Latin Emperor 1273–85.

³ The author's discussion of this affair, in §§626–30 and §§639–40, is faulty. For a more complete and accurate account of the collision between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, see T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII*, London, 1933, and Jean Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1998. There is a good chronology in Favier, pp. 532–4. In brief: the crisis began in 1296 with Boniface's attempt to put an end to the French practice of taxing the church in order to support war with England (the practice was in fact illegal canonically), and did not end until the affair at Agnani, when Philip's officers, in collaboration with the Colonna family, briefly seized – and roughed up – the aged Boniface, who died in October 1303, probably of causes connected to the assault.

should either appear before him or send someone to represent him.¹ I will tell you the cause of the dispute: the king of France had arrested a prelate ... [lacuna²] ... so that the king wished neither to come himself nor to send anyone else. So the pope revoked all the privileges and gifts which the Church of Rome had given to the king's ancestors. Moreover, Pope Boniface issued a summons to all the prelates and abbots of France, ordering them to appear before him on a specified day.

627 At this point, the king of France issued a prohibition throughout all his lands, forbidding anyone to take either gold or silver out of his lands, unless it was in the form of money.

628 When the prelates heard about this prohibition, they perceived plainly that they would not be able to go to Rome in the grand way they were accustomed to, nor were they very willing to go if they had to do so empty-handed. Moreover, they saw that the pope was placing undue burdens on them by making them go to Rome for no very good reason. So all the good clerics and all the noble barons of France arranged a day for taking counsel. The clerics and barons discussed the matter amongst themselves, and by common consent decided to send a messenger to the pope, requesting that he withdraw his sentence in order to avoid the great contentions which would occur between the court of Rome and the French crown.

629 When the pope received the messenger, he was more vexed than ever, and he issued a citation to the king in person. He said to the messenger – who was a French bishop,³ a small man, of low birth and bald and wise and clever – that he was going to remove the king of France from his kingdom, and that he would set up another king in his place, one who would govern the kingdom of France in a better way than he had, and obey Holy Church better than he had done, and love and fear Holy Church, as his ancestors had done.

630 This bishop, the messenger, responded on behalf of the king of France and said that the king was truly such a mighty lord that he could handle such threats and worse – just as they had easily handled, and would handle, the threats made by those who were lesser men than the king of France. At this, the pope became enraged at the bishop, and commanded him to hold his tongue, and had the [episcopal] ring taken from his finger and had him stripped of his bishopric. But this bishop told the pope that he could not forcibly remove him from his bishopric,

¹ The author may be referring to the papal letter *Asculda* (or *Ausculda*) *fili*, probably written in December 1301 and published in France by royal officials, in a very garbled form designed to make Boniface look bad, in January 1302.

² The missing material must have concerned the arrest and imprisonment of Bernard Saisset, Bishop of Pamiers, in 1301. See Boase, *Boniface VIII*, and Favier, *Philippe le Bel*; see also Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, pp. 262–7.

³ Probably Peter of Mornay, Archbishop of Auxerre; see Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, p. 360.

because it belonged to the French king, who was such a mighty lord that he was quite well able to make good the damage which the pope might do to him, twice a hundred thousand times over.

At this the pope was furious with him, and had him arrested. But afterwards, at the request of some cardinals – and also because he was an emissary – he was released, and he returned to France. The king of France then put him in possession of his bishopric by force, and gave him many other goods.

So there was, at this time, a great dispute between the pope and the king of France. But now I want to leave off telling you about it, and tell you about another great disaster which befell the Christians of Syria.

631 It came to pass in this same year that the sultan of Babylon sent 4,000 Saracen Turks into the kingdom of Armenia.¹ They overran all of Armenia up to the chief city which is called Sis, which has a very strong castle, into which the majority of the people had gathered. King Hetoum of Armenia was nearly captured, for he was seized together with a few of his men, but by God's help he escaped and managed to get inside the castle of Sis.²

632 The Saracens put the city of Sis, which is very great, to the torch, and remained there twelve days. Finally they recognized that they would be unable to harm the castle, so they left and turned towards a city called Aleppo, four days journey from Armenia.

633 The king of Armenia, seeing the damage that the Saracens had done to him, sent his brother to the Tartars to report the damage that the Saracens had done him (for Ghazan, king of the Tartars, was at that time in Turkey with a very great host, and intended to come into Syria against the Saracens that winter).

634 Now I want to tell you what happened at a little island near the city called Tortosa in Syria, which the brethren of the Temple held.

635 The sultan, that persecutor of Christians, had sixteen galleys and *saities* armed, and sent them to Tripoli in Syria to one of his emirs whose name was *Sandamour*,³ who had been a Christian,⁴ born of a Christian man and woman in a

¹ It is difficult to determine which year, and which invasion, this refers to. There is known to have been an invasion of Armenia by the emir of Aleppo in 1302, and other incursions by the Mamluks in 1304 and 1305 (see Sirarpie der Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', *HC* II, p. 657). The last date given by the author, was 1303 (in §626, above), but 1302 (by modern dating at least) was probably meant there. It would seem likely, then, that this is a reference to the 1302 invasion.

² This is an obscure passage. The text is contradictory; it is possible that there is a mistake in the ms., or it could be that Hetoum was almost, but not quite, captured.

³ Sayf al-Din Esendemür; see above, §605.

⁴ I.e., was an apostate.

land called Georgia. *Sandamour* had asked the sultan to send these galleys. He loaded many men-at-arms on them, and came along the coast to Tortosa, and arrayed his forces, and went over into that island (which is less than a thousand feet from the mainland). When the brethren saw them coming, they were very afraid, because they had no galleys, only some *tarides*.

636 So the Saracens descended on the island at two points. Some of the Templars charged them and hurled them back to the seashore. There was a very sharp battle, and the Saracens fired so many arrows that they injured the horses and wounded many brothers, and by main force the brethren were driven into a tower which is in the island. When the Saracens saw them thus retreating from the shore, they all disembarked from their galleys onto the land and positioned themselves in the buildings which were on the island. The Syrian foot archers defended themselves most valiantly and slew many Saracens, but this counted for nothing because the horsemen – brethren and others – no longer dared to sally out, and furthermore they were very far away.¹

637 The Saracens pressed on hard and fanned out across the whole island, and sent messages to the brethren of the Temple, saying that they should surrender on their safe conduct, and that they would take them wherever they wanted to go in Christendom. The Templars trusted in this evil tale, and handed themselves over at the instigation of Brother Hugh of Ampurias,² and thus were the Templars and the isle of Tortosa taken.

638 But the Saracens had the heads of all the Syrian foot soldiers cut off, because they had put up such a stiff defense and had done great damage to the Saracens, and the brethren of the Temple were dishonourably conducted to Babylon.³

This, as you have heard, is what became of the island of Tortosa.

Now I shall return to telling you about the affair of the pope and the king in France.

639 You have heard how I have told you that the pope summoned the king of France before him in person, and how he revoked all the privileges and favours which the Church had given to his ancestors. And matters went so far between them that the king of France drew up a list of twelve most shameful accusations, and set out to show that even the very least of these accusations could and should disqualify him from being pope.

¹ 'Very far' must be relative; Ruad is somewhat less than a mile long according to John France (private communication to the translator, May 2002).

² Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p. 294, renders it 'Dampierre', but 'Ampurias' seems more likely. Presumably this is the same person as the knight-brother Hugh in §477, above.

³ I.e., enslaved.

640 Meanwhile, it happened that the pope went to Anagni. While he was there, the king of France arranged for the men of Anagni to seize the pope's person. The French king sent his own people there, and they took custody of the pope themselves and brought him back to Rome.¹ He was so closely guarded that no one could speak to him without the permission of the men of the French king. In this condition he died.² In his stead, Brother Nicholas the Dominican was made pope.³ He was a Lombard, and had been raised in Venice. He lived a short time and then died. Then Clement the Fifth⁴ was made pope, in the [year of the] Incarnation of Christ 1305.⁵

641 In this same year⁶ there was a great quarrel between the king of France and the count of Flanders.⁷ It was caused by the fact that the count of Flanders wished to give his daughter to the son of the Lord Edward, King of England. But the king of France was not willing to consent to this. The king of France had the young girl taken from the count of Flanders, and he kept her under his control.

642 Meanwhile it happened that the duke of Burgundy and the count of Bar and the count of Flanders revolted against the king of France, and a great war ensued.⁸ At this, the Flemings took up arms and slew all the *baillis* of the king of France.⁹ The king of France came and besieged the count of Bar, whereupon the count of Bar threw himself on his mercy, and the king of France pardoned him.

¹ The author is mistaken. As noted above, Boniface was indeed seized at Agnani by French officers, assisted by Boniface's ancestral enemies from the Roman Colonna family, on 7 September 1303. But the local population rioted, rescued the pope, and drove off his attackers. Boniface was brought back to Rome, where he died, free but apparently fatally shaken, on 12 October.

² As noted earlier, the author has got a number of the details of this affair wrong. For a concise summary of the affair, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Oxford Dictionary of the Popes*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 208–10; see also the notes to §626.

³ Pope Benedict XI (1303–4), born Niccolò Boccasino.

⁴ The text reads, mistakenly, the Fourth; this is one of the rare instances where the author himself supplies a number for a pope or king.

⁵ The text reads, mistakenly, 1306.

⁶ It is unclear what year is referred to here. The Matins of Bruges and the Battle of Courtrai took place in 1302, so it would seem that the author is confused.

⁷ See above, §573–4.

⁸ The duke of Burgundy was Robert II; the count of Bar was Henry III of Bar; the count of Flanders was Guy III of Dampierre. See Favier, *Philippe le Bel*, p. 299.

⁹ Probably a reference to the so-called Matins of Bruges, in which Flemish commoners massacred a dispersed force of French troops under James (Jacques) of Châtillon in Bruges on night on 18 May 1302. See Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, p. 333–4.

643 The king of France gave orders to hire soldiers – foot soldiers with long lances and crossbows – and sent orders likewise to the count of Artois¹ and to many horsemen and counts and barons of France, and they went into Flanders.

644 When the Flemings saw that he had arrived, they made a dry ditch around their positions, so that the French could only get at the Flemings by one narrow route. Thereupon the foot soldiers with the long lances crossed over it, but the count of Artois made them withdraw.²

645 When the Flemings saw so many men arrayed against them, they were greatly afraid. They had set up the count of Namur,³ the nephew of the count of Flanders, as their captain. The count and the Flemings sent a messenger named Pierre le Roy to the count of Artois. He was very wise and well-spoken. They offered to throw themselves on the mercy of the count of Artois and on the good pleasure of the king of France if he would save their lives and the lives of their women and children.

The count of Artois did not wish to agree to this, but wanted them to throw themselves [unconditionally] on the mercy and good graces of the king of France. But the Flemings did not dare to do this. So the count of Artois set out, he and his men, to go on horseback against the Flemings. The Flemings moved out to meet them, and drove them back and pressed them so hard that they drove the French into the dry ditch, and slew so many of them there at their leisure that the French were thoroughly defeated. The count of Artois was killed, as were many of the high barons of France, which was a great loss.⁴

646 In those days and at that time, the count of Flanders was in the French king's prison. He had been handed over to the mercy of the king of France through the offices of Sir Charles, brother of the king of France. He was put into prison in Pontoise, where he died. The duke of Burgundy and the count of Bar also threw themselves on the mercy of the king of France, and he pardoned them.

647 When this disaster [at Courtrai] happened to the men of France, more than 6,000 of the most noble and the best horsemen of France were killed.

¹ Robert II of Artois. See §463.

² Meaning, apparently, that the infantry crossed the ditch successfully but the count pulled them back. The passage is obscure. Alternatively, the meaning may be that the Flemings came out of their fortified encampment and were pushed back by the count of Artois.

³ John I.

⁴ For the battle of Courtrai (11 July 1302), see Hans Delbrück, trans. Walter Renfroe, Jr., *Medieval Warfare (History of the Art of Warfare, Vol. III)*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebr. & London, 1982, pp. 431–8; and J. F. Verbruggen (ed. Kelly DeVries; trans. D. R. Ferguson), *The Battle of the Golden Spurs: Courtrai, 11 July 1302*, Woodbridge, 2002.

648 When the news reached the king of France, he was greatly grieved and angered, and he had a great host of horsemen and footmen assembled, and went himself in person into Flanders.

The king of France intended to harry the Flemings by sea as well. So he gave orders to a man from Genoa named Ranieri Grimaldi – a valiant, hardy, and daring man – to gather seamen and shipwrights discreetly. Ranieri Grimaldi made seven galleys there, and the Genoese armed them according to their custom. Their admiral was this Ranieri Grimaldi, and they went raiding against the *cogs* of the Flemings, as you shall hear.

649 When the king of France arrived in Flanders, he laid siege to a city called Lille. The Flemings defended themselves valiantly, and the battle was very deadly. When the two sides collided, the king of France was thrown from his horse, and was on foot in the midst of his enemies, who assailed him. But he defended himself with a sword which he had in his hand, and so mighty and grievous were his blows that whomever he struck was slain at once, stretched out on the ground – for the king of France was a very big man, more than a palm's breadth taller than other tall men, with bones bigger than beams. He was hardy and brave-hearted like a lion, and there was no horse so big or so strong but that it would sag beneath him. His hips and thighs were so large that when he was mounted, his feet were within a palm's breadth of the ground. He was so handsome of face, and so fair-skinned and so blond, that in his time there was no one more handsome than he, and anyone who has seen him knows well that what I have told you is the very truth.

The battle was very fierce and very deadly on both sides, and the king of France was on foot two or three times, his horse having been killed beneath him. When he had remounted after having been on the ground, he had twenty-four knights guarding his person on a hillock. There came up a great man from the Flemish side, the lord of Cuijk; he fought with the king of France and struck him with a *bordon* in the middle of his body, but the king was so well-armoured that the blow did him no harm. The lord of Cuijk was immediately killed and cut to pieces.

In the end the Flemings were not able to endure nor to bear the battle, and they were all defeated, and the king of France took the city of Lille. He had a most strong and beautiful castle erected within the city, and he put his men inside this castle to guard it and to keep the men of the city more closely under his control.

And so the land battle turned out thus, as you have heard.¹

650 Now I want to tell you about the French king's galleys, and about his admiral Ranieri Grimaldi – about his exploits, and what he did.

¹ The sentence is unclear – it could be rendered 'So the battle turned out, as you have heard throughout the land'.

651 This admiral positioned himself and his galleys along the points by which he thought anyone who was coming and going on a voyage would have to pass. While he was lying in wait, he encountered an entire convoy – for the Flemings had heard about his galleys, and for that reason were travelling together. As soon as they saw these galleys, they armed themselves in their own defense. And the men of the galleys (which are, as everyone knows, fast vessels, able to come and go swiftly where they will), surrounded the *cogs*, being well-armed and fortified, so much so that they were almost as tall as the *cogs*.¹ They fought together most fiercely, and the *cogs*, which are not oared vessels and so are unable to give support to each other, found themselves in considerable difficulty. The galleys surrounded the *cogs*, attacking each in separate squadrons,² and they captured twenty-four with all their cargo. But while they were being taken, the wind shifted to a quarter that was very favourable to the other *cogs*, and they put on sail and left the area, greatly damaged and injured.

652 Within the twenty-four captured *cogs* there were very great riches, which all went to the king of France. Ranieri Grimaldi was greatly honoured for this victory; he was knighted, and the king gave him a very fine fief.

653 Now I want to tell you about the count of Flanders, who was in the French king's prison, but who was allowed to ride out where it pleased him.

654 It happened one day that he came before the king of France and begged him to let him go to Flanders to see his lands and his people, a thing which he greatly desired. The king asked him what security he would give so that he would have to return. The count replied that he had no security but his word, and the king let the count go on this alone.

The count went to Flanders and saw his lands and his friends. They counselled him not to return again to prison, but he did not wish to take this advice, and rather kept his promise and his word. He returned to his lord the king of France, to the prison at Pontoise, where he died at the age of 100.

655 Peace was made in Flanders after the city of Lille had yielded to the mercy and grace of the king of France. And although he had taken great harm [from the rebellion], he did not retaliate against anyone.

Now I want to leave off telling you about this, and speak to you of another matter.

¹ A peculiar observation, since a galley could not possibly be as 'tall' as a *cog*.

² Or possibly 'attacking each in battle', depending on the intent of the word *bataille*, which may mean individual units or the general conflict.

656 When the seventh day of the month of August of this year of 1303 of Christ arrived, there was a very great and powerful earthquake in the isle of Cyprus, greater than any that had been felt in our time. Although in Cyprus, by the mercy of God, it did no damage, in Candia¹ (which is in Crete) and in Rhodes it caused very great damage and killed a great many people. It was felt in all the places of the world, as the merchants have reported.

Now I will leave off telling you about this, and tell you about events in Cyprus.

657 After the death of his brother King John I, King Henry II of Jerusalem and of Cyprus had three other younger brothers. The eldest of them was called Amalric,² to whom he made the gift of the city called Tyre in Syria. He also made him constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Although the Saracens held the land of Syria captive at the moment when he made the gift, he nevertheless made him the gift so that he would have the title of lord.³ Amalric was married to the sister of King Hetoum II of Armenia, a lady who was named Isabella, and whom he married in Armenia.

658 One of the other brothers named Guy married the Lady of Beirut,⁴ who had been the wife of Humphrey of Montfort (who was the brother of my lord John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and of Toron). King Henry gave this Guy the constablership of the kingdom of Cyprus, but it was not long before he died,⁵ leaving a son and a daughter⁶ by the Lady of Beirut, his wife. The son was named Little Hugh.⁷ His uncle the king brought him up in his household.

659 After the death of the aforesaid constable, King Henry made Sir Aimery, the youngest of his brothers, constable.

¹ Modern Heraklion.

² Or Amaury. Confusingly, another brother was named Aimery.

³ Henry had evidently granted Tyre to Amalric at some point in the late 1280s, before its capture by the Muslims. Precisely when he gave him the title of constable of Jerusalem is not known, though this entry would seem to indicate that it was later. The logical moment for the appointment would have been just before Henry II's coronation in Tyre in 1286, since it would have allowed Amalric to perform ceremonial duties on that occasion. Amalric's possession of the title of constable is also mentioned in §477, above, though this may be anachronistic. See Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 98, n. 91, and Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. II, p. 182, n. 5, and p. 217, n. 1.

⁴ Eschiva of Ibelin. See Edbury, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁵ Guy was in office in 1292; according to 'Amadi' (p. 240), he died a year after his appointment.

⁶ Also called Isabella.

⁷ Lit., 'Hughet', who would become King Hugh IV in 1324.

660 The king had two uncles, brothers of the queen, his mother. One was called Sir Balian of Ibelin; he was the seneschal of the kingdom of Cyprus.¹ The other, who was younger, was called Philip of Ibelin. By and by, as it pleased God, the seneschal died, and this Sir Philip of Ibelin, his brother, was made seneschal of the kingdom of Cyprus.

Now you have been told of the brothers and the uncles, so that you can better understand the events of their affairs which you shall hear recounted below.

661 In those days King Henry was not accustomed to take advice on confidential matters from anyone but his uncle Sir Philip of Ibelin. All the others he held at arm's length. The king acted in such a way that, by the interference of the Enemy from Hell, jealousy arose amongst them. Thus it happened that Sir Amalric, Lord of Tyre, made a bid to be governor of Cyprus. He sounded out the wishes of the knights, and found that by far the greater part of them were in agreement with him.

662 In the year of the Incarnation of Christ 1306, Sir Amalric, Lord of Tyre, the second brother of the king, made an open bid to be governor of the kingdom of Cyprus. It happened that a knight named Hugh of Peristerona² called the Lord of Tyre and a number of Cypriots to a meeting. That morning they were together at the baths and at this gathering they arranged to make the lord of Tyre governor.

Everything that they did was reported to the king, but he did not want to believe it, declaring that they would not dare to do it.

663 The day after this meeting, on the twenty-seventh day of April (which was a Tuesday),³ Sir Amalric, Lord of Tyre, assembled all the vassals and knights that he could get in his residence, in order to make himself governor. He commanded that the gate should be closed and that once any knight had entered, he should not be allowed to leave. And they took counsel together.

While they were taking counsel, Sir Philip of Ibelin, the king's uncle, was with the king. Sir Philip was aware of this thing which they were doing, for they had told him about it at his estate, Alaminos.⁴ When he realized that they were

¹ Balian of Ibelin died in 1301 (see 'Amadi', p. 238).

² There are three locations in Cyprus with this name. See Peter Edbury, 'Latin Dioceses and Peristerona: a contribution to the topography of Lusignan Cyprus', in *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistimonikon* 8 (1978), pp. 45–51 (repr. Peter Edbury, *Kingdoms of the Crusaders: from Jerusalem to Cyprus*, Brookfield & Aldershot, 1999, article XXI).

³ The meeting almost certainly took place on Tuesday, 26 April. In 1306, 27 April was a Wednesday.

A notarized text of the proclamation which resulted from the meeting is reproduced in a footnote to 'Amadi' by the editor, René de Mas Latrie (pp. 242–6). The proclamation is dated Tuesday, 26 April, 1306. Leontios Machaeras (§44) agrees with this date; Sanudo (p. 242) dates it to 26 April without giving a weekday; the author of 'Amadi' (p. 241) gives it as 27 April.

⁴ Near the south coast of Cyprus, about half-way between Limassol and Larnaca.

assembled at the lord of Tyre's place, he left the king there and went to his sister the queen mother's place and told her of the matter. The queen immediately mounted up, and Sir Philip brought her on a destrier to the lord of Tyre's residence.

The lord of Tyre came out of the council and went alone to his mother the queen. She railed on him, saying to him, 'Amalric, what is this that you are doing against the king, who is your brother and your lord?'

The lord of Tyre replied to his mother the queen that what he was doing was because of the deeds of Sir Philip of Ibelin. When Sir Philip heard this claim, he replied that matters had always been good between the king and himself. The lord of Tyre told him that he would make these deeds known to him soon enough.

When the queen mother heard them railing on one another, she left her brother Sir Philip of Ibelin, fearing lest the words between them should escalate. And Sir Philip was left alone, without companions, for the sergeants would not permit any of the knights to come out of the house after they had gone in, as you have heard.

The queen remained alone, so the lord of Tyre had her accompanied by some of the knights from his party. All the while, the king knew nothing of what was being done, and when Sir Philip of Ibelin returned to the king's place, he sat down beside him, and did not wish to discuss the matter.¹

664 The lord of Tyre returned to the council, and they arranged things in such a way that they made him governor of the kingdom of Cyprus. So the governor mounted on horseback, and all his knights with him, and they went to the king's residence. They conveyed the following words, which you shall hear, to him in writing. The person who read them to him was Sir Hugh of Ibelin, the brother of Constable Philip of Ibelin, who had died.² This is what the document said:³

665 'We, Sire, have come before you to inform you that, because you are diseased in your body and unable to attend properly to the governance of the kingdom, and likewise because of numerous conflicts which have occurred in our times between you and numerous persons, and especially with the Genoese, therefore we have, in court, ordained and arranged that your brother, Sir Amalric, Lord of Tyre, should be governor'.

At this, the king made the following reply:

¹ The text is ambiguous about who sat down with whom.

² Hugh of Ibelin was first cousin to Philip of Ibelin. He was the only other surviving Ibelin of that generation, and so was the senior member of the family to declare for Amalric. There is a useful genealogical table of the relationship between the Ibelin and Lusignan families at this time in Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 116.

³ The documents produced by this meeting may, as indicated above, be found in the footnotes to both 'Amadi' (pp. 242–8) and the *RHC* (pp. 858–62).

666 'What are you trying to say? That because of my illness you have made him governor? There was a king amongst our ancestors who was a leper,¹ but no governor was ever set up in his place. And if you are referring to the contentions and the conflict with the Genoese, I have done that through the agency of the lord of Tyre. And even if you have made the lord of Tyre governor, none of my men have sworn oaths to him'.

667 The lord of Tyre replied with these words: 'Everyone has sworn oaths to me. And if there are any who have not done so, they shall swear; and as for those who do not want to swear the oaths, I will thrust this *bordon* into their body and the bodies of all their descendents to the third generation!' And the governor left and went out of the chambers of the king, and had the decree announced throughout the land in his name as governor. In this way he was made governor, and many knights who were actually against him swore oaths to him, as you will hear later on in this book.²

668 As one of his first acts, the governor gave the commune of Venice a franchise in the kingdom of Cyprus, by his grace.³

And so I will leave telling you about the governor for another time, and will tell you of another matter which was going on at the same time as those things which were happening in Cyprus.

669 After the fall of Acre, it happened that the master of the Hospital of St. John, Brother John of Villiers, died, and after him Brother Odo des Pins was made master. Odo lived only a short time and then died, and after him Brother William of Villaret (a Provençal who was the Prior of St. Gilles) was made master.⁴

670 This master had a nephew, a young brother of the Hospital, who was the grand commander. This commander's name was brother Fulk of Villaret.⁵ He was generous and courteous and most liberal, and conducted himself well in his command and showed much love and esteem for his brethren and other men. So it chanced that his uncle, the master, died, and the brethren of the house made this

¹ A reference to the leper Baldwin IV (king of Jerusalem 1174–85).

² See, for example, §679, below, although some of the references may be in pages now missing.

³ For the text of the franchise, see, Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, vol. II, pp. 102–8, and also the *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli, vol. I, Venice, 1880, pp. 42–5.

⁴ John of Villiers was master 1285–93; Odo des Pins, 1294–96; William of Villaret, 1296–1305.

⁵ Fulk of Villaret became master in 1305; he was deposed by the order in 1317 and abdicated by agreement with Pope John XXII in June 1319.

brother Fulk, the grand commander, the master in the [year of the] Incarnation of Christ 1305.

671 And when the master was confirmed, he carried out a great enterprise, as I shall tell you.

672 There is an island which is called Rhodes, belonging to the emperor of Constantinople. It is at the crossing of sea routes, a very near neighbor to Turkey and close to the isle of Cyprus, and it is on the way which people take as they are going to Egypt. The people of the isle of Rhodes allowed the passage of vessels laden with lumber and iron and Greek boys and women, which were carried to be sold to the Saracens of Babylon. Even the people of Rhodes themselves often carried these goods to the Saracens.

673 Brother Fulk of Villaret, master of the Hospital, wanted at the beginning of his mastership to have the favour of God and praise and honour from the world. So he set about to go and take that isle of Rhodes, and determined that he would block the passage of the merchandise which went to the Saracens. By doing this, he would also be able to subdue the neighboring areas of Turkey to Christianity. So to begin this enterprise which I am recounting, he sent a summons to Famagusta for a great man of Genoa named Lord Bonifacio Grimaldi. He came to the master at Kolossi, a Hospitaller estate near Limassol. There they spoke together and ordered their affairs as it seemed necessary to them for the enterprise they had undertaken. And from the long discussions that they held and the many conversations that took place, it was agreed and settled that they would prepare their flotilla.¹

The master and his brethren boarded their ships and went to Rhodes. On their arrival they took the land by force and besieged the castle of Rhodes. They set up a great battery of siege engines and other things.

While they were at the siege of the city of Rhodes, an event occurred involving another fortress called Philermo. Philermo was far from the sea, and the Greeks had supplied it with sergeants and victuals, and 300 Turks from Turkey had come to its aid.

Now the castellan of that fortified town had beaten a Greek sergeant, who was shamed and resentful. In his anger this sergeant went to the Hospitaller host which was before Rhodes, as you have heard, and came to an understanding with them and promised to betray this castle (which, as I have told you, is called Philermo) on the side he was guarding, if they wanted to take it.

¹ The Genoese freebooter Vignolo di Vignoli was also involved, though the author does not mention him. Fulk of Villaret and Vignolo drew up a treaty outlining their cooperation in the Rhodes expedition; an English translation of this document may be found in Crawford, 'An Institution in Crisis', pp. 270–4. The document is dated 27 May 1306 (original text may be found in Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *Les hospitaliers in Terre Sainte et à Chypre*, Paris, 1904, pp. 274–6 n.

674 This man went out at night from a place which no one knew about and, as I have told you, went to the Hospitallers. When it was quite late at night, the master and the brethren sent footmen, and they trusted him and went with him. This man climbed to the place [on the ramparts] where he [customarily] watched, and the Hospitallers and their sergeants climbed up after him where he showed them, and took the fortified town by that place, and put to the sword the 3[00¹] Turkish Saracens whom they found there. The other men and women and children² went into churches to save their lives.

675 The conquest of this fortified town greatly strengthened the Hospitallers and stiffened their resolve to carry on the siege more strongly and to advance their cause. But it still took them more than two years to capture [the castle of Rhodes], because the fortifications were very strong and it had excellent men at arms within (considering that it was Greeks who were there). And because the Hospitallers did not wish to damage it so seriously that it would be destroyed, and also because those within it were Christians, they used their strength to take it in an appropriate manner. This is why the siege lasted so long.

When God willed that the matter should be finished for the good of Christendom, so that the flow of merchandise should not go on to the Saracens, as I have said, He sent an event which I shall describe to you.

676 It happened that the [Byzantine] emperor had received letters and a messenger from the men of Rhodes, who had asked him to provide them with food and weapons. So the emperor engaged a Genoese vessel and loaded it with plenty of wheat³ and arms, and sent it by that man whom the men of Rhodes had sent to him.

But when the ship was in the waters off Rhodes, those on board found the island so strongly held that they could not land. Moreover they ran into twelve armed galleys: four Provençals; one of Saido Doria's;⁴ one of Lanfranco Ceba's, which was called 'La Pennate'; and another belonging to a Genoese named Vignolo. The Hospitallers had armed some of the others in Cyprus and elsewhere. So this ship headed instead for Cyprus, and came into the port of Famagusta.

There a knight of Cyprus called Sir Pierre Le Jaune, who had come from Rhodes to Cyprus, had an armed Hospitaller *lein*.⁵ As he was in the port near this

¹ The author says 'three', but he surely means 'three hundred'.

² I.e., the native Rhodians.

³ Or possibly, in a broader sense, 'provisions'. The author's word is *fourment*.

⁴ Almost certainly the *Sadus Aurie* referred to in a commercial deed drawn up by the Genoese notary, Lamberto di Sambuceto, in January 1307 (Michel Balard, ed., *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro* (Collana Storica di Fonti et studi 43), Genoa, 1984, p. 82, no. 7). Note that Minervini renders his name 'Aitone', here and below in §§693–4.

⁵ Pierre Le Jaune was Admiral of Cyprus later, from 1316–32.

ship, the Genoese merchant, master of the relief ship, became afraid that this man, who was from Rhodes and was returning to Rhodes, would seize his *saitie*. There was much food and arms in the ship which the emperor had sent, and the master wanted to land it in Famagusta, where he would be safer, but when he was in the *barque*, one of the sailors on the *saitie* of Pierre Le Jaune recognized him, and they sailed over towards this *barque* where he was and seized him, and straightaway Sir Pierre Le Jaune hauled him off to the master of the Hospital at Rhodes. There, for fear of his life, he sought out and treated with the men of Rhodes, telling them on the emperor's behalf, with many countersigns,¹ that the men in the castle should entrust themselves and their goods to the safe-conduct of the Hospital.

So the castle was in the hand and the power of the Hospital. The men of the castle handed over the keys to the master, and they made covenants that their goods should remain in their own possession under the protection of the Hospital, and they were to be their men, just as they had been of the emperor of Constantinople. The Hospitallers held to the terms of the agreement, and afterwards received them as their men – but they made them live outside the fortress of the castle and live in the bourg.² This was in the year A.D. 1306; they had begun the siege in 1300.³

677 The master and the *prud'hommes*, brethren of the Hospital, gave thanks to God and to the Virgin Mary for this good fortune and honour which they had, and they worked on the fortifications of Rhodes and strengthened them, and gathered together many good people who wanted to come to Rhodes in order to populate the place and to increase it. Then they subdued to their obedience several parts of Turkey, all of which gave them a truce. Never did those evil merchants dare to pass by there again, or to pick up from Turkey either wood or skins, or any other thing to take it to Babylon. If anyone did make as if to go, the Hospitallers with their galleys would take them and despoil them. This was a very good thing for Christendom; thus did God arrange things for the best.

678 In this manner God blessed the noble master of the Hospital and all the *prud'hommes* of the house, so that they were in great liberty and had great freedom

¹ Evidently passwords created to ensure that the contents of any message were genuine, though in this case it was not.

² It appears that the Greeks were expelled from the area known as the Citadel of the Knights and resettled in the area called the Merchants' Quarter. Cf. map in Setton, *HC* III, p. 338.

³ The chronology is in error here. The author writes, above, that Fulk of Villaret began the siege after being made grand master in 1305 (§670–3).

There is also disagreement about the completion of the siege. For example, Bernard Gui says that the Hospital did not capture Rhodes until 15 August 1310 (*Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XXI, pp. 719–20). And the author of the *Grands chroniques de France*, VIII, ed. Viard, p. 271, says it was 1309 (in a footnote Viard emends this to 1310). See Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 215–6.

of action in that place, ensconced in their own lordship and beyond the suzerainty of any other lordship, and God bore witness to them of his great grace by these good works! Amen!

Now let us return to the matter of the lord of Tyre, who was made governor of Cyprus.

679 It so happened that the governor would not allow any knight to have dealings, or to go riding, with the king, except for my lord the seneschal (his uncle) and certain other knights whom I will name for you: Sir John of Jubail of Syria (who was called Arneb), and Sir Louis of Nores, and Sir Roland de la Baume, and Sir Balian of Montgisart, and two others.

With matters standing thus, even many of the knights who had sworn oaths to the governor were most remorseful in their hearts for having done so. The governor perceived this and had them watched, lying in wait to catch them in a guilty moment.

Now it happened that, in the middle of this, the governor wanted the king to announce in his court¹ that he was governor by the king's free will, and he wanted him to issue a charter to this effect so as to exculpate himself in the eyes of the kings beyond the seas, because of the violence he had done to the king. The king said that he would in no way do this – that he would rather let them tear him apart limb for limb. The governor was greatly outraged by this, and at the time was so incensed that he wanted to attack the king in his residence and take him by force. So the lord of Tyre (the governor) armed himself and all his men, and they came with armoured horses and streaming banners, and surrounded the king's residence.

At that time there was a Genoese podestà in Cyprus, in Nicosia. He too came in person, and all the Genoese in Nicosia followed at his command with banners flying, with the podestà on a great horse which the governor had given him as a gift. This podestà was called Giacomo Panzano; he had been wronged by the king in the past. He had been captured in person by the viscount of Famagusta, and had been held most shamefully in the thieves' prison. For this reason, he came out under arms against the king, although he was greatly blamed and reproached in Genoa for doing so.

680 When the king saw that they had come to attack and seize him in his residence, he gathered together all the people that he could in his residence. My lord Philip of Ibelin, his uncle and the seneschal of the kingdom, was there and was armed, he and the rest. Even the king himself wore his armour, and he said that he wished to go out in order to discover why they had come against him.

The governor's footmen and horsemen were armed and drawn up in ranks all along the street in front of the king's residence. But the queen mother – who was greatly distressed by all this – and the Dominicans and Franciscans and other

¹ I.e., in the High Court.

religious came to the king and fell on their knees before him, and even his lady sisters¹ came before him, pleading with him not to go out against the governor. They were so persistent that the king withdrew.

An agreement was reached along the following lines: Sir Philip of Ibelin, seneschal of the kingdom, who was uncle to the king and to the governor, and all the knights and *valès* and sergeants who were aiding the king inside his court when he was besieged were to come on foot in a body, to the residence of the lord of Tyre, the governor, and to beg for mercy. The governor was supposed to pardon them and spare them, life and limb, and not imprison them on bread and water, and he was to turn over their fiefs to them. And as this covenant stipulated, so everything was done.²

681 Sir Philip of Ibelin, the seneschal, came on foot with the rest and Bishop Guy of Famagusta accompanied him to the governor's residence. A good while later in the day the other knights, *valès*, turcoples and sergeants came, on foot in a body, and as a body, as you have heard related.

682 And when they had arrived at the governor's residence and had come into his presence, he pardoned and freed those whom he wished, and cast those whom he wished into prison. I will list some of those imprisoned for you and tell you of the knights:

683 Sir Aimery of Milmars,³ and Sir Reynald of Saisons, and Sir James of Floury (a knight of Acre), and Sir John Babin, and Sir Anselm of

¹ Lit., 'the damsels his sisters', probably referring to his unmarried sisters.

² This is not quite true, as §682, below, reveals.

³ Apparently not the same Sir Aimery who was warden of John le Mieve, the copyist for the 1343 ms. of the text.

The Milmars, or Mimars, were an 'old family', tracing their ancestry to the third quarter of the twelfth century, when Hugh of Mi(l)mars married Isabella, daughter of the Constable of Jerusalem, Menasses of Hierge. Isabella was the uterine half-sister of Hugh, Baldwin and Balian of Ibelin. By the 1220s, the leading member of the Mi(l)mars family was a prominent vassal of John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, in Beirut. By 1300 there were several branches.

Aimery of Mi(l)mars seems to have been the head of the family (i.e., eldest member of the senior branch) at the time of the 1306–10 crisis. 'Amadi' refers to him frequently (pp. 252, 264, 299, 338, 373, and 390 (where he is wrongly called 'Henry')), and Leontios Machaeras mentions him (§58). He witnessed the marriage contract of Ferrand of Majorca and Isabella, daughter of Philip of Ibelin the seneschal in 1315 (see Mas Latrie, 'Nouvelle preuves de l'histoire de Chypres sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 34 (1873), p. 63) and that of James II of Aragon and Maria, sister of Henry II of Cyprus in 1314 (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón. Su vida familiar*, II, pp. 104–5).

This Aimery seems to have been dead by 1327; he is referred to as the 'late' Aimery of Mi(l)mars in a papal letter of that year (John XXII, *Lettres communes* #28071). See also W. H. Rüdiger de Collenberg, 'Les dispenses matrimoniales accordées à l'Orient latin selon les

Brie,¹ and Sir John Layze, and Sir Hugh of Aguilers, and Sir Simon of Aguilers, and Sir Hugh Bedouin, and Sir Gerard of Brie, and Sir Thomas of Brie, and other knights whose names it would be wearisome to relate. And there were also two *valès* arrested, Thomas of Ibelin and Berthelin Mahé.

Now you have heard the names of those who were seized and mistreated for having aided their lord the king.

684 When the next year arrived (which was the [year of the] Incarnation of Christ 1307, Sir Baldwin of Ibelin, who deemed it wrong to go on opposing the king, informed the governor that he no longer wished... [lacuna]²

685 [684]³ ... [lacuna] ...received from all, so he sent one of his messengers with the edict. When King Hetoum saw the edict, he kissed it, and laid it on his head

registres du Vatican d'Honorius III à Clément VII (1223–1385)', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 69 (1979), no. 61, pp. 68–9.

Hence the Aimery of Mi(l)mars who was the captain of Kyrenia in 1343 must have been his relative (though in exactly what relation is not known). This Aimery appears prominently as a witness to documents in 1329, 1330, and 1338 (Mas Latrie, *Histoire* II, pp. 158, 164, and 178).

There is at least the possibility that the papal letter of 1327 was mistaken, and that the two are indeed the same Aimery – there is no compelling reason why he could not have had a career spanning the period 1306–43. His great-grandfather flourished in the 1220s, so he could well have been young in 1306. But if one accepts the evidence as given, then these Aimerys are not the same person.

The form of the name is given variously as 'Mimars' ('Mimarcio') or 'Milmars' ('Millemarchis' or 'Millemarcis'), with the former appearing to be the early spelling and the latter the later. The author of the 'Templar of Tyre' uses both versions. 'Mimarcio' would translate to 'Half-a-Mark', while 'Millemarcis' would translate to 'A Thousand Marks' – perhaps there was a financial reason for the orthographic shift!

¹ Or, Anseau of Brie.

² This appears to be a rather large lacuna. Folio 232 is missing from the ms. The text seems to have dealt both with the conflict between King Henry and Amalric, with the defection of Baldwin from Amalric to the king's party, and also with the end of the reign of King Hetoum II of Armenia. The story resumes part way through a paragraph, which has caused numbering problems in the various editions. See the first note to §685, below.

Very brief coverage of the missing material may be found in Sanudo, p. 243; since Sanudo appears to have depended on the author of the *Gestes* fairly heavily, the text there may represent a condensation of the missing folio. Reference to the missing events may also be found in the chronicles of Dardel, Hetoum, 'Amadi' and Florio Bustron.

In addition, there are dating problems here. 'Amadi' (pp. 261ff) places the showdown of §§679–83 in 1308. The episode with Baldwin of Ibelin was June or later of 1308, according to him (pp. 267ff). But the deaths of Leon and Hetoum (§86) are dated 7 November 1307.

³ Raynaud numbers this as part of §684. The *RHC* and Minervini, however, assign 685 to the additional text after the break, and then call the next full section 686 (adding to the confusion, Minervini assigned her own new numbers to the sections as well, considering §237, with which this third part of the *Gestes des Chiprois* begins, to be §1, and supplying

and on his eyes, and came down confidently, bringing with him the young king, his nephew, as I have told you.

686 [685] As soon as this great Tartar lord¹ had King Hetoum and certain other knights from Acre (including one called Gilles Antiaume) in his power, he decided to carry out his plans. He asked Hetoum to give him the kingdom of Armenia on behalf of the Great Khan.² Hetoum replied that it was not his [to give], but rather that it belonged to the child, his nephew, called Leon. Immediately this great lord, without any delay, ordered his men to slay Hetoum, whereupon his men struck down Hetoum and all the knights and others whom he had brought with him with swords.

When the child Leon, the little one, saw that they were killing his uncle and the others, he fled in amongst the tents of the Tartar women to save his life. But it did him no good, for the Tartars came after him to seize him, and dragged him away from the women, and struck off his head. He was a child who had not yet reached ten years of age.

687 [686] When this thing happened, King Hetoum's brothers, Oshin and Alinakh,³ took refuge in their stronghold.⁴ When the Tartars saw that they were not going to be able to carry out any [more] of their intentions, they turned back, remorseful and very much afraid lest the Khan should do them harm – which is just what happened, as you shall hear.

688 [687] As for Oshin and Alinakh, who were brothers of Hetoum (Oshin and Alinakh were twins, Oshin having been born first): Oshin wanted Alinakh to be king and lord, but Alinakh, respecting right and reason, said that authority rested better on Oshin, because he had come first out of the womb of their mother, before Alinakh. And so Oshin exercised power over the kingdom of Armenia, and later on was crowned.⁵

the *RHC*'s numbering only parenthetically). All subsequent numbering, from §§685–702, differs in this way between the *RHC* and Minervini on one hand and Raynaud on the other.

I have followed the *RHC* (and Minervini) in considering the material after the lacuna to be §685. The Raynaud numbering is supplied in brackets.

¹ The reference is probably to Bilarghu, a Mongol emir. See Sirarpie der Nersessian, 'The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia', *HC* II, p. 658.

² The text reads 'Cazan', here and in §§687, 689 and 690. Elsewhere this refers to the Mongol Ghazan, Ikhanid ruler of Persia. But he had died in 1304. The context and use of the word leaves unclear whether the author believed Ghazan was still alive in 1307, or is merely using the word *cazan* as 'khan'. I have chosen to translate it as 'khan'.

³ Rupen Alinakh or Alinah.

⁴ Lit., 'made themselves strong in their position and their fortress'.

⁵ Oshin was king of Armenia from 1307 or 1308 to 1320.

689 [688] They grieved greatly over the death of their lord and brother King Hetoum, and over the child, their nephew, the little king. After they had mourned and shown their grief according to their custom, and had buried the bodies, this Oshin, King of Armenia, sent Alinakh his brother to Ghazan,¹ the great Khan of the Tartars, protesting the death of their brother and of the child, for his men had slain them while they were under his safe conduct, coming in response to his orders as conveyed by his edict.

690 [689] King Ghazan, Lord of the Tartars, viewed this deed as most grievous and improper. He summoned to him the captain of his men, whom he had set to guard Turkey, and who had done this thing to the king of Armenia (as you have heard), and he had his head cut off, and did the same to all those who had struck with their swords to slay the two aforementioned (Hetoum, King of Armenia, and the little boy-king Leon). And so Alinakh returned to Armenia.

691 [690] Baron Oshin, who was king of Armenia, had full possession of the kingdom. He still had two brothers in Constantinople: one called Sempad (the one who had been made king and had had his brother Thoros strangled and had blinded Hetoum, their eldest brother who was the king), and another brother called Constantine, who died soon after. And there was one of their sisters there, the wife of the emperor of Constantinople, and she was still alive.²

692 [691] When this Sempad heard of the death of Hetoum, he left Constantinople and went to Cyprus, for his sister was there, the wife of the governor and lord of Tyre. Then he went in a galley to Armenia, and sent his messenger to his brother Oshin, saying that Oshin should hand over the kingdom to him, since he was older than Oshin and therefore the kingdom belonged rightfully to him.

Oshin sent word back, saying that Sempad had put out the eyes of the king, who had been his brother and his lord, and had had the other brother strangled, and that because of these acts he was a traitor. Traitors had no rights anywhere, [said Oshin,] nor ought they to hold land, and so the kingdom belonged rather to him who held it, and he would hold it forever.

When this Sempad heard his reply, he saw plainly that he was not going to be able to get anywhere, so he left and returned to Cyprus.

693 [692] King Oshin remained alert and on guard. He armed a *lein* ([a ship somewhat] smaller than a galley) and sent one of his faithful Genoese, a great Genoese nobleman named Sir Baldo Spinola, on this *lein*, to wait until Sempad should go to Constantinople. Sir Baldo went there and lingered a great while in

¹ Again, the identification of Ghazan is mistaken.

² Oshin's sister, Rita (known in Constantinople as 'Maria-Xenia', was married to Michael IX Palaeologos (co-emperor 1294–1320).

those waters, in the place which he knew Sempad would have to pass through. But this Sir Baldo fell ill and went to Rhodes, where he found Sir Saido¹ Doria, another great Genoese nobleman. He spoke with him about the matter, and arranged that this Sir Saido should lie in wait for Sempad along the way.

694 [693] It then happened that after Sempad returned from Armenia to Cyprus, he set out in a galley belonging to a Genoese named Sir Giovannino di Ghisolfi, heading for Constantinople. As they were on their way, they encountered Sir Saido Doria and his galley. The two galleys drew near each other trusting to each other's good faith, and they conversed.

In the end, Sir Saido said that regardless of how it happened, he wanted custody of Sempad's person. At this, Sir Giovannino di Ghisolfi said that he could not have him under any circumstances.

Sir Saido said that he would take Sempad by force from Sir Giovannino di Ghisolfi, who was unable to defend himself due to the fact that his galley was ill-armed and had fewer men than that of Sir Saido. So Sir Saido boarded the galley with men-at-arms and took Sempad and put him on his own galley and transported him to Armenia, to King Oshin of Armenia, his brother.

Sir Baldo Spinola, who had come, ill, from Rhodes to Cyprus, received a letter from Sir Saido by one of his children, telling him how the affair had been carried out, and that Sempad had been captured and was in the custody of the king of Armenia. Sir Baldo, who was at Famagusta, immediately hired a *panfile*, armed it, and got on it, quite ill, and went from there to Ayas in Armenia. Before he had gone more than a league, the matter was made known in Famagusta, and if he had delayed only a little he would have been arrested. And so the matter ended.

King Oshin and his brother Alinakh took their brother Sempad and held him in prison. In the meantime, Alinakh died suddenly. He was exhausted from hunting, and in his weariness he drank some milk that was very cold. He was suddenly taken with a malady and died of it on the spot. King Oshin mourned greatly for him.

Now it happened that after the death of King Oshin's brother, some Venetian merchant galleys arrived. On them was a great man of Venice named Sir Nicoletto Morosini, a messenger from Cyprus to Armenia. King Oshin of Armenia released his brother, Baron Sempad, to him, and Sempad was put on the galleys. While these galleys were on the way, only a short distance out from Cyprus, this Sempad died at sea of an illness. Thus the kingdom of Armenia passed to King Oshin without any opposition.

Now I want to tell you about another thing which happened, which took place as you shall see.

¹ As noted above in §676, Minervini renders his name as 'Aitone'.

695 [694] It happened in the year 1307 of Christ (as I have told you) that, Pope Nicholas having died the previous year, Clement V was made pope in his place.¹ Clement stayed at Avignon and at Bordeaux, and never went to Rome even once while he was pope. This pope had sent a summons to Brother James of Molay, Master of the Temple (he who was master after Theobald Gaudin, and third² after William of Beaujeu, who been killed in the fall of Acre, as you have heard above in this book).

696 [695] This brother James of Molay, Master of the Temple, behaved very greedily towards the pope and the cardinals when he was beyond the sea, for he was miserly beyond all reason.³ Nevertheless the pope received him with seeming favour, and so the master went to France and Paris and demanded that the treasurer of the Temple render his accounts.

He found that the treasurer had lent the king of France a great quantity of money, said to have been as much as 400,000 golden florins (though I don't know whether it was as much as that). And the master was very greatly enraged against the treasurer, and took his habit from him and threw him out of the order.⁴ So he came to the king of France, who was very angry that the treasurer had been stripped of his habit for this reason, and the king sent a great man of France to the master, asking the master to give back the habit for love of the king, and whatever the treasurer owed to the house, the king should pay it to him willingly. But the master would have none of this, and responded otherwise than he ought to the request of a man like the king of France. And when the king saw that the master would do nothing in response to the request, he asked the pope to command that the master of the Temple restore the mantle of the habit of the Temple to the

¹ The author is seriously mistaken in his chronology here. Benedict XI, not a Nicholas, preceded Clement V. Benedict died July 7, 1304, and Clement was elected June 5, 1305, assented to the election August 24, and was crowned November 14. Among other things, the date should read 1305.

² Second to us; the author is counting inclusively, as medieval men often did.

³ The affair of the Templars has been a point of contention since the day the Templars were arrested in France, October 13, 1307. For a good modern secondary treatment of the matter, see Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*; see also his revision of his views on King Philip's motivations for the arrest in *idem*, 'The Trial of the Templars Revisited', in *The Military Orders: welfare and warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson, Aldershot, UK, & Brookfield, USA, 1998, pp. 329–42.

⁴ The author is apparently mistaken. The treasurer, John of Tour, was neither removed from office nor expelled from the order; he was holding his office at the time of the arrests in October 1307. Perhaps the author, who seems to dislike James of Molay, is repeating gossip; in any event, his accuracy is generally reduced when he talks about events distant from the Latin East. See Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 289 and 302. It is surprising that the author, a man who had been so closely associated with the former Templar master, is not well-acquainted with the details of the arrest and trial.

treasurer.¹ The treasurer himself carried the letter of the pope to the master of the Temple, but he ignored the pope – moreover they say that the master cast the letter into the fire, which was burning on a hearth.

697 [696] The king of France was greatly vexed. After several days had passed, the pope summoned the master, and the master came to Paris to him, whereupon the pope instructed him that he should give him a copy of the Rule of the order of the Temple. The master gave it to him, and he read it.

After that people talked among themselves about all sorts of customs in the order of the Temple, but I am not sure what I can truthfully set down in writing, apart from those things which took place in public: that afterwards it was said that the copy of the rule was examined by wise men and by other orders; that they were dispossessed; that the order was destroyed; and that thirty-seven² of them were burnt at Paris. Those who saw them burned say that as they burned, they cried out with a loud voice that their bodies were in the power of the king of France, but that their souls were with God.

698 [697] And then at the last, the master and the commander of Gascony³ were brought to Paris before all the people, of whom more than 50,000 were assembled, and two cardinals representing the pope were also there, who were to read a text of their Rule, about which text it was understood that they had known and confessed with their own mouths. But merchants who happened to be there said that the master turned towards the people and said very loudly that all that was written was false, and that he had never said nor confessed such things, and moreover that the Templars were good Christians.

Upon these words a sergeant struck him with his hand across the mouth, so that he might speak no further, and he was dragged by his hair into a chapel, and they kept him there until it was very late, and the crowd had thinned out and most people had left. And then the master and the commander of Gascony were placed in a small boat and taken onto an island in the river,⁴ and there a fire was burning. The master begged them to suffer him to say his prayers, which he did say to God; and then his body was bound over to the working of their will.

¹ And the pope apparently did so – see the next sentence.

² More reliable sources say fifty-four; see Barber, *Trial*, p. 157. Others were burned in other places as well.

³ There were four Templar officers brought out to make a final confession before being imprisoned for life, on 18 March 1314. They included Grand Master James of Molay; Geoffrey of Charney, Preceptor of Normandy; Hugh of Pairaud, Visitor in France; and Geoffrey of Gonneville, Preceptor of Aquitaine and Poitou. Hugh of Pairaud and Geoffrey of Gonneville made the expected remarks and were taken away. James of Molay and Geoffrey of Charney, however, revoked their confessions, saying that the Order was innocent and that the only thing they had done wrong was to lie about its guilt under torture.

⁴ The Ile-des-Javiaux, in the Seine, near the cathedral of Notre Dame (Barber, *Trial*, p. 241).

So they took him and cast him into the fire, and he was burnt. And if Almighty God, who knows and understands hidden things, knows that he and the others who were burned were innocent of those deeds of which they were accused, then they are martyrs before God; and if they received what they had deserved, they have been punished – but I may truly say that, to all appearances, I knew them for good Christians and devout in their masses and in their lives, and especially my lord the master, Brother William of Beaujeu,¹ who gave great and generous alms to many good people, both privately and openly, as anyone who cares to find out knows.

But I shall leave off speaking about this matter and tell you about another incident which brought great evil into Cyprus, on account of which there grew and arose great discord which could have resulted in great harm to the land.

699 [698] It happened in the year of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ 1309 that the lord of Tyre, the governor, seized his uncle, Sir Philip of Ibelin, the seneschal of the kingdom of Cyprus.² Sir Philip was at his estate of Alaminos. There Sir Aimery, who was the constable of the kingdom of Cyprus and also his nephew, arrested him and conducted him to the water's edge at this same estate, and had him put onto an armed galley. He was sent to the king of Armenia, who held him there under guard.

700 [699] The governor also seized Sir Baldwin of Ibelin and put him onto an armed *saitie* and sent him to Armenia, him and other knights who are named below: Sir Aimery of Milmars, and Sir James of Floury, and Sir Hugh Bedouin, and also Sir Eustorge Pedot, and Sir William Roussel, and Sir Nicholas of St. Bertin, and Sir Philip of Jubail, and Sir James of Artuse, and Sir James Costa, and Sir Thomas of Beaufort. All these knights were sent to prison in Armenia because they were unwilling to obey the commands of the governor.

701 [700] When the lord of Tyre, the governor, saw that his brother the king was entirely unwilling to authorize him to be lord and governor in his stead, he wanted to exonerate himself in the eyes of the lords across the sea.³ So he decided to send a messenger to the pope and to the king of France, to excuse what he had done and [to argue] that things were better arranged this way because of the king's condition.

¹ As earlier sections have made clear, William of Beaujeu had been the author's employer.

² 'Amadi' gives the date of the deportations of Philip and Baldwin of Ibelin as 1308 (pp. 272, 275), and that of the knights listed in §700, below, as 1309 (p. 299). Bustron agrees that the Ibelins were exiled in 1308 (pp. 158–60). Sir George Hill (*History of Cyprus*, II, p. 231, n. 1) finds 'Amadi' and Bustron more believable, as does Peter Edbury (*Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 122 and n. 81). Philip was arrested some time after January 1308 and exiled in April 1308.

³ I.e., in the West.

He sent Sir John of Brie and another knight, a mercenary named John Lombard, on this errand.¹

They went to the pope, and found the king of France there also. In the presence of the pope and of the king of France, they charged King Henry with ugly diseases and ugly behaviour, which he certainly did not have – but the word amongst the people was that this was what the messengers said. And it was said that neither the pope nor the king of France gave any credence to their speeches, nor did they give them a favourable reply. On account of this, the messengers left the court precipitously and returned to Cyprus.

702 [701] And after this, the lord of Tyre, the governor, set himself entirely to doing his worst. He sent the Lady of Tyre, his wife, to the king of Armenia to negotiate² and arrange the conditions under which the king would hold King Henry, his brother....³

¹ The chronology is somewhat faulty here. This embassy was at the papal court by February 1308, so presumably it had left in the autumn of 1307. See Edbury, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, p. 119.

² This embassy took place in October 1309; Amalric sent Henry into exile in February 1310. Amalric was murdered in June 1310 (which the author may be about to discuss in the missing pages that followed), and Henry was restored in August 1310.

³ The rest of the manuscript is lost. Only a few fragments of the 238th folio remain, with the following words (fragments too small to be translated have been italicized):

...whereupon h[e]...Armenia and...with the sa[id?]....gover[nor]...of his [?]....said
vi...esty and...his bed and...[th?]ey saw...came there [?]....n and...a....

Raynaud and the *RHC* transcribe the following text:

'John le Miede, a prisoner at Kyrenia, wrote out this book, finishing it on Wednesday, 9 April, in the year 1343 of Christ'. The note is from folio 198 of the original manuscript, according to the *RHC*; this folio is now missing.

Glossary

<i>Auberge</i>	An encampment or a fortified place; can also have the modern French meaning of inn, residence or lodging.
<i>Babylon</i>	Frankish name for Egypt (often specifically Cairo), not the ancient city in southern Mesopotamia.
<i>Bailli</i>	The representative of a higher ruler such as a king; a sort of regent-governor. An office differing from that of 'bailiff', which refers to a lord's agent who collects dues from peasants. The Italian version is <i>bailo</i> .
<i>Barbican</i>	An outer defensive work around a castle or other fortification, of various types: a wall, a tower, a gatehouse, etc.
<i>Barque</i>	One of several varieties of ships' boats, used for getting from the ship to the shore, for example (see also <i>parescalme</i> , below). In some instances, refers simply to any small boat operating alone.
<i>Barquette</i>	Small version of a <i>barque</i> (q.v.). The difference may be relative.
<i>Battle</i>	Medieval term for a military unit on the battlefield or in a fleet, approximating a corps or division (or squadron at sea) in function.
<i>Bezant</i>	Gold coin. Originally the Byzantine <i>hyperpyron</i> ; copies were made by the Muslims and the Crusaders, and were called <i>bezants</i> (or <i>besants</i>) after the original makers.
<i>Bordon</i>	A slender dagger made for thrusting.
<i>Burgesses</i>	City-dwellers, usually of some importance, though not aristocrats. Related to the word 'bourgeois'.
<i>Buches</i>	Wood for construction, in various forms, including bundles of faggots or wooden revetments or coverings. Used to screen troops or siege engines.

<i>Carabohas</i>	A type of trebuchet, whose name derives from its Arabic nickname, 'black camel'. See Paul Chevedden, 'Black Camels and Blazing Bolts', <i>Mamluk Studies Review</i> 9 (2004), forthcoming.
<i>Caravan</i>	A group of merchants and their goods and conveyances; may be either on land with animals or on sea with ships.
<i>Chat</i>	Literally, 'cat'; a wooden siege fortification, used to protect besiegers or besieged from attack.
<i>Chemise</i>	A garment resembling a long shirt, sometimes worn beneath other garments.
<i>Cogs</i>	A type of later medieval sailing ship, capable of carrying large loads of cargo.
<i>Columbet</i>	A small boat, possibly of the <i>barque</i> class; literally, a 'dove'.
<i>Confrère</i>	A secular knight, temporarily associated with a military order such as the Templars or Hospitallers.
<i>Cuirasse</i>	A kind of breastplate.
<i>Damoiselle</i>	(<i>or damoisele</i>). Maiden or damsel; an unmarried girl or woman (not necessarily young); also sometimes a lady-in-waiting.
<i>Denier</i>	A silver or billon penny, 240 of which made up a <i>livre</i> or pound. The name is derived from the Latin <i>denarius</i> . It had a significant value, unlike today's penny.
<i>Destrier</i>	A war horse, possibly so-called because it was led by the right (Old French <i>destre</i>) hand of a groom or squire.
<i>Emir</i>	A Muslim ruler or high officer.
<i>Epaulières</i>	Shoulder protectors; part of a soldier's armour.
<i>Escuer</i>	A squire; perhaps, in context with <i>valet</i> (q.v.), a senior squire.
<i>Fosse</i>	Moat or ditch.
<i>Galley</i>	A standard warship with 108 oars (though the term may be used generically).

<i>Galliot</i>	Indicates a small type of galley; the standard war galley had 108 oars, but there were many smaller variants.
<i>Garites</i>	Wooden defensive shields or barricades; semi-temporary screens put up to protect besiegers or besieged from harm. Sometimes translated 'sentry boxes'.
<i>Host</i>	An expeditionary force, operating offensively in hostile or foreign territory.
<i>Izeq</i>	The vanguard of a host (drawn from Arabic or Persian, according to the <i>RHC</i>).
<i>Lamiera</i>	pl. <i>lamieri</i> . A <i>cuirasse</i> (q.v.) made of iron or other metal fixed to leather or cloth.
<i>League</i>	A measurement of distance, varying from 2.4 to 4.6 miles (often around 3 miles).
<i>Lein</i>	A rather imprecise term for a small warship, often but not necessarily always a galley. Sometimes simply 'a vessel'.
<i>Mamluks</i>	Muslim soldiers, originating as boys (usually Caucasian or central Asian) who were enslaved and sold to Muslim Egypt. There they were forcibly converted to Islam and trained as warriors. When they completed their training, they were formally freed; thereafter they formed an elite regiment in the army. The Mongol conquests in Asia during the first half of the thirteenth century resulted in a sharp rise in the number of children sold into slavery, so that by the middle of the century the number of mamluks in the service of the Ayyubid regime in Egypt had grown significantly. In 1250, during the Seventh Crusade, they overthrew the Ayyubid sultan and ruled Egypt (and, from 1260, Syria) as a self-perpetuating military junta until the sixteenth century.
<i>Mohammedans</i>	Archaic term for Muslims, based on the misperception that they worshipped Muhammad.
<i>Nef</i>	A type of large sailing ship.
<i>Panfile</i>	A type of warship, sometimes covered with leather armour and used as platforms for archers. As with <i>lein</i> (q.v.), the word could have varied meanings. By the thirteenth century it may have merely been a generic word for a large or fortified galley.

<i>Parescalme</i>	A <i>barca de parischalm</i> , the second largest of a ship's boats. Smaller than a <i>barca de canterio</i> but larger than a <i>gondola</i> . It could have as many as 32 or 34 oars.
<i>Paynim[ie]</i>	The opposite of Christendom; the lands of the <i>paynim</i> or pagans.
<i>Poulain</i>	Generally taken to mean someone born in the Latin East of Western parentage (cf. the modern Israeli <i>sabra</i>). M. R. Morgan believed that it had acquired a pejorative connotation by at least the fourteenth century (see her 'The Meanings of Old French <i>Polain</i> , Latin <i>Pullanus</i> ', <i>Medium Aevum</i> 48 (1979), pp.40–54), though its use in the 'Templar' (§454) would not seem to support this interpretation.
<i>Prud'homme</i>	A man of considered judgement and proven ability to lead, and of substance, character and (usually) age. Difficult to translate since the concept scarcely survives today.
<i>Quarrels</i>	Crossbow bolts.
<i>Religious knight</i>	A member of a military religious order, such as the Hospitallers, Templars, or Teutonic Knights.
<i>Romania</i>	The territory of the Byzantine Empire, whether under Latin or Greek rule. Not contiguous with the modern nation of Romania.
<i>Roncin</i>	A horse of inferior quality, usually used as a pack animal. Less desirable than a palfrey, which was a good-quality riding horse, or a <i>destrier</i> (q.v.).
<i>Saitie</i>	A small warship; literally, an arrow. Could have a wide range of oars but never nearly as many as the standard war galley of 108 oars.
<i>Saracenic bezants</i>	Gold pieces, either made by the Saracens in imitation of the Byzantine <i>hyperpyron</i> , or by the Crusaders in imitation of the Saracens imitation. See <i>bexants</i> .
<i>Secular knight</i>	An ordinary knight, not a member of a military religious order.

<i>Sergeant</i>	Either a footsoldier or, from the late twelfth century, a mounted warrior (but lacking the social status of a knight). Not the non-commissioned officer of modern usage. The word is derived from a word for 'servant'.
<i>Sous, or sol</i>	A French coin equal to twelve <i>deniers</i> (q.v.); twenty of them composed a <i>livre</i> (equivalent to the English pound). Derived from the old Roman <i>solidus</i> , a gold coin; related to the English shilling.
<i>Taride</i>	Transport galley (as opposed to a war galley) or barge. Often used for conveying horses. May have had a square stern, with one or two doors, and were backed onto beaches to offload their cargo.
<i>Tartars</i>	The Frankish name for Mongols.
<i>Turcoples</i>	Generally considered to have been native auxiliary troops, perhaps the offspring of Franks and native women. Turcoples were mounted warriors who fought armed and equipped like the Turks. The name probably extended to anyone equipped in this way, irrespective of birth or ethnic background.
<i>Valé or valet</i>	A young attendant; perhaps, in context with <i>escuer</i> (q.v.), a junior squire or even a page.
<i>Vavassor</i>	Sometimes used to denote a rear vassal (someone who held land from a feudal lord but was in turn the lord of his own vassals). When the word is used in the 'Templar', it indicates a vassal of some substance – someone more important than an ordinary knight but lacking the status of a major aristocrat.



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Index

- Abaqa, 74, 78, 149
Abbey of Notre-Dame-la-Latine, 121
Accursed Tower, Acre, 106, 110, 113
Acre, 1, 3, 4, 10–13, 15, 20, 21, 22–27,
29, 30, 32, 33, 36–38, 40, 41, 43, 44,
48, 50, 51–57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 66–70,
72, 73, 74, 75, 77, 80–81, 83, 85–87,
92, 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101, 119–
121, 123, 124, 129, 131, 133, 152,
156, 169, 179
 fall of, 101–117
Adam of Caffran, 116
Adrian V, 71
Adriatic Sea. *See* Venice, Gulf of
Aigues Froides. *See* Coldwater river
Aimery of Lusignan, 166, 181
Aimery of Milmars (1), 174, 181
Aimery of Milmars (2), 7
Akkar. *See* Gibelcar
al-Adil Kitboghā, 122
Alaminos, 167, 181
Alanya, 121
Alart of Valery (Érard of Valerie), 48, 57
Alberto Morosini, 75, 89, 90, 91
Alberto Spinola, 57
Aleppo, 34, 37, 78, 146, 149, 151, 152,
157, 160
Alexander IV, 39
Alexander the Great, 146
Alexandria, 3, 22, 67, 92, 93, 98, 122,
154, 156
Alfonso X of Castile & Leon, 43
Alice of Cyprus, 20
Alice of Montmorency, 45, 46
Alinakh, 176, 177, 178
Alison of Montfort, daughter of
 Humphrey of Montfort, 83
Alphonse of Poitiers, 21
Amalric of Lusignan, 6, 12, 13, 99, 100,
101, 157, 158, 166–169, 173, 181,
182
Amaury of Montfort, son of Humphrey of
 Montfort, 83
Anagni, 162
Ancona, 121, 137, 158
Andrea Dandolo ‘Callonatus’, 140, 142
Andrea Peleau, 116, 134
Andrew of Clapiere, 79
Andriolus Pellatus. *See* Andrea Pelleau
Andronicus II Palaeologus, 138, 171
Anfred of Montfort. *See* Humphrey of
 Montfort
Anfrion of Montfort, grandson of
 Humphrey of Montfort, 8, 84
Ansaldo Ceba, 24
Ansaldo de Mari, 16
Anselm of Brie, 175
Antioch, 40, 157
 fall of, 59
Apostolic Brethren, 69
Apulia, 16, 18, 66, 69, 70, 95, 104, 140,
142, 143
Arghun, 149, 150
Armand of Périgord, 19
Armenia, 35, 38, 52, 59, 60, 70, 78, 97,
98, 100, 133, 137, 138, 145, 151, 157,
160, 166, 176, 177, 178, 181
Arsuf, 44, 120, 121
Arsuz. *See* Porbonel
Ascalon, 21, 120, 121
Assassins, 20, 63, 64, 65, 66
as-Sumairiya, 105
Athlit. *See* Château Pèlerin
Auberge of the Hospitallers, Acre, 86, 115
Auberge of the Templars, Acre, 110
Avignon, 179
Ayas (Lajazzo, Laias), 133–135, 146, 178
Ayn Jalut, battle of, 146, 149

Babylon, 22, 37, 40, 44, 50, 52, 59, 67,
70, 74, 77, 78, 95, 101–103, 105, 152,
153–156, 161, 170, 172
Badr al-Din Bektash al-Fakhri, 99, 103
Baghdad, 34, 148, 149
Baghras. *See* Gaston
Baibars, 12, 37–40, 44, 50–55, 59, 63, 66,
67, 70, 74, 76–77
Baldo Spinola, 177, 178
Baldwin IV of Jerusalem, 169
Baldwin of Ibelin, Constable of Cyprus,

- 86, 87, 175, 181
 Baldwin of Jubail, 72, 78, 79
 Baldwin of Picquigny, 156
 Baldwin of St. George, 54
 Balian II of Ibelin, 20
 Balian III of Ibelin, 20, 21
 Balian of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, 44, 59,
 74, 75
 Balian of Ibelin, Seneschal of Cyprus, 167
 Balian of Montgisart, 173
 Balian of Sidon, 73
 Banyas, 120
 Bartholomew of Jubail, 97, 101
 Bartholomew Pisan, 104
 Bartholomew, bishop of Tortosa, 70–72,
 96
 Baydara al-Mansuri, 77, 122
 Beaufort, 36, 59, 120
 Beirut, 64, 79, 81, 82, 119, 120
 fall of, 119
 Benedetto Zaccaria, 29, 80, 89, 91,
 96–98, 100, 129, 130
 Benedict XI, 162
 Benevento, battle of, 49
 Berke, 148
 Berke Khan, 76, 77
 Bernard Saisset (?), 159
 Berthelin Mahé, 175
 Bertrand Embriaco of Jubail, 23, 25, 26,
 30–32
 Bethany, 39
 Bethlehem, 120, 121
 Bethsan, 120
Betil (unidentified Armenian castle), 146
 Bilarghu, 176
 Bishop's Tower, Tripoli, 100
 Black Mountain, 134
 Black Sea (Great Sea), 148
 Blanchegarde, 120
 Bohemond of Lusignan, 81, 83
 Bohemond VI of Antioch & Tripoli, 23,
 25–26, 30–31, 32, 34, 68, 69
 Bohemond VII of Antioch & Tripoli, 3,
 69, 70, 72–73, 75, 79, 92, 94, 95, 96,
 98
 Boniface of Calamandrana, 98, 101
 Boniface VIII, 10, 12, 136, 137, 138,
 158–161, 162
 Bonifacio castle, 87
 Bonifacio Grimaldi, 170
 Bonnacorso of Gloria, 86
Borborin, Genoese admiral, 29
 Bordeaux, 179
 Botron, 73
 Brethren of the Sack, 69
 Bridge Tower, Acre, 108
 Buffavento, 119
 Burchard of Schwanden, 96, 97, 104
 Caesarea, 44, 68, 102, 120, 121
 Caesarea (Kayseri), 149
 Caffa, 133
 Cagliari. *See* Castel di Castro
 Calabria, 143
 Calo Dandolo. *See* Andrea Dandolo
 'Callonatus'
 Candia, 166
 Caroublier, 52
 Casal Imbert, 75, 94
 Castel di Castro, 88
 Castile, 129
 Catania, 145
 Cathay (China), 147
 Catherine of Courtenay, 158
 Catona, 139
 Caymont, 120
 Celestine IV, 16, 17
 Celestine V, 16, 136
 Ceyhan River, 135
 Charles II of Anjou, 84, 85, 145, 158
 Charles of Anjou, 21, 40, 44, 48–50, 56–
 58, 62, 63, 66, 74, 80, 81, 84
 Charles of Valois, 158, 163
 Chastel Blanc, 76
 Chastelet, manor, 73, 82
 Château du Roi, 120
 Château Neuf, 120
 Château Pèlerin, 21, 28, 36, 92, 102, 119,
 120
 China. *See* Cathay
 Church of Holy Wisdom, Nicosia, 84
 Church of the Holy Cross, Acre, 44, 86
 Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem,
 121
 Clement IV, 43, 44, 48, 57
 Clement V, 162, 179, 180, 181, 182
 Coldwater river (Aigues Froides), 76, 77,
 149
 Confraternity of St. George and of
 Bethlehem, 25
 Conrad IV, 18, 58–60, 61
 Conrad of Feuchtwangen, 104

- Conradin, 18, 19, 57, 58, 60
 Constance, daughter of Manfred, 50, 81
 Constantine I of Armenia, 138, 177
 Constantinople, 39, 133, 137, 138, 139, 177, 178
Cordate, Catalan knight, 54
 Cordoba, 43
 Corrado Doria, 145
 Corsica, 87, 143
 Courtrai, battle of, 12
 Crete, 166
 Cuijk, lord of, 164
 Curzola, 140

 Damascus, 34, 76, 77, 85, 95, 98, 146, 149, 151, 153, 154
 Damietta, 22, 31, 48, 94, 154
 Damor, 82
 Dieudamour (St. Hilarion), 119
Dome, village, 75
 Dominicans, 11, 78, 128, 162, 173
 Doria family, 143

 Edmund of Lancaster, 67
 Edward I of England, 45–47, 56, 62, 67, 68–69, 144, 162
 Edward II of England, 144, 162
 Egidio Doria, 133
 Egypt, 21, 38, 123, 151, 156, 170
 Elba, 88
 Eleanor of Castile, 67, 69
 Elizabeth of Bavaria, 57
 England, 45
 Enrico dei Mari, 88
 Enrico Dugo, 30
 Érar of Valerie. *See* Alart of Valery
 Eschiva of Ibelin, 62, 82, 166
 Eudes (Odo) of Châteauroux, 22
 Eudes of Nevers, 48
 Euphrates, 76
 Eustorge Pedot, 181
 Evesham, battle of, 10, 47

 Famagusta, 61, 108, 119, 132, 133, 155, 170, 171, 178
 Faris al-Din, 38
 Fazio of Donoratico, 89
 Field of Flowers, The, 49
 Flanders, 163, 164, 165
 Florence, 158
 Foggia, 84

 Forbie, La, battle of, 19
 France, 66, 159
 Franceschino Grimaldi, 35
 Franciscans, 11, 94, 128, 133, 134, 137, 138, 173
 Frederic II of Sicily (Trinacria), 50, 145
 Frederick II, 1, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 48, 58, 60
 Fulk of Villaret, 169, 170, 172

 Galata. *See* Pera
 Galilee, 120
 Gando de Mari, 139
 Gaston, 59
 Gate of St. Anthony, Acre, 108, 110, 111, 112
 Gate of St. Lazarus, Acre, 107
 Gate of the Legate, Acre, 108, 109
 Gavino Tartaro, 142
 Gaza, 120, 151, 153, 154
 Genghis Khan, 146, 147, 148
 Genoa, 15, 16, 24, 41, 42, 55, 56, 80, 87–89, 91, 92, 96–98, 121, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 139–140, 142–143, 173
 Geoffrey of Charney, 180
 Geoffrey of Gonneville, 180
 Geoffrey of Sergines, 20, 33, 40, 52, 53, 60, 113
 Geoffrey of Vendac, 99, 101
 George, a scribe from Acre, 104
 Georgia, 161
 Gerard of Brie, 175
 Gérard of Langres, 137
 Gerard of Pisa, 57, 58
 Germany, 57
 Gerona, 10, 85
 Ghazan, 150, 150–152, 154–157, 160
 Giacomo Panzano, 173
 Gian Malocello, 131
 Gibelcar, 67
 Gibelcar (Akkar), 55
 Gilles Antiaume, 176
 Gilles of Sidon, 21
 Giovannino di Ghisolfi, 178
 Gök Su river, 76
 Gorigos, 134
 Greece, 80
 Gregory IX, 16
 Gregory X, 36, 57, 60, 66, 70
 Grenada, 43

- Grimaldi family, 142–144
 Gulf of Venice, 142
 Guy de Montfort, 47, 95
 Guy III Dampierre, 144, 162, 163, 165
 Guy of Ibelin, 71–73, 78–80
 Guy of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, 155, 157
 Guy of Lusignan (brother of Henry II), 166
 Guy, Bishop of Famagusta, 174
 Guyotin of Montfort, son of Humphrey of Montfort, 83

 Haifa, 120, 121
 Hamah, 34, 37, 78, 146, 149
 Hang-chow, 147
 Hangzhou. *See* Hang-chow
 Hanimy. *See* Izz al-Din Aybak al-Turk al-Hamawi
 Harbiyah. *See* Forbie, La
 Harim, 34, 37
 Hausa. *See* Hang-chow
 Hebron, 120, 121
 Helvis of Montfort, granddaughter of Humphrey of Montfort, 84
 Henry I of Cyprus, 20, 21, 23, 40, 56, 61
 Henry II of Cyprus & Jerusalem, 3, 5, 6, 12, 13, 81, 85–87, 99, 101, 108, 113, 119, 120, 121, 131, 132, 155, 157, 166–168, 173, 174–175, 181, 182
 Henry III of Bar, 162, 163
 Henry III of England, 45, 46, 47
 Henry of Almain, 47, 95
 Henry of Guines, 54
 Henry of Jubail, 101
 Henry, Lord of Jubail, 25, 30, 31
 Henry, son of the prince, 39, 70, 84
 Heraclius, Byzantine emperor, 34
 Hetoum I of Armenia, 34, 40, 52
 Hetoum II of Armenia, 12, 134, 137, 138, 146, 151, 154, 157, 160, 166, 175, 176, 177
 Hims, 34, 78, 146, 149, 150
 Homs, 19, 34, 37, 78, 157
 Hospitallers, 5, 12, 19, 21, 24–29, 31, 39, 40, 44, 52, 53, 55, 60, 66–68, 71, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 84–86, 94, 96–99, 101, 102, 104, 106, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 155, 157, 158, 169–172
 Hromgla, 146
 Hugh Bedouin, 175, 181
 Hugh II of Cyprus & Jerusalem, 23, 25, 56
 Hugh III of Cyprus & Jerusalem, 2, 10, 39, 44, 56, 60, 61, 66, 68, 74, 75, 81, 83, 84
 Hugh IV of Cyprus & Jerusalem, 8, 166
 Hugh of Aguilers, 175
 Hugh of Ampurias, 101, 161
 Hugh of Brienne, 56
 Hugh of Ibelin, 168
 Hugh of Jubail, 32
 Hugh of Montaigu, 20
 Hugh of Pairaud, 180
 Hugh of Peristerona, 167
 Hugh Revel, 28, 75
 Hugh Salamon, 72
 Hülegü, 33–35, 146, 148–149, 151
 Humphrey of Montfort, 61, 62, 82, 83, 101, 166
 Hungary, 148
 Husam al-Din Turuntay. *See* Turantay

 Innocent IV, 10, 17, 20
 Innocent V, 70, 71
 Isabella II (Yolanda) of Jerusalem, 18, 58
 Isabella of Armenia, 166, 177, 182
 Isabella of Ibelin, Lady of Beirut, 62
 Isabella of Ibelin, wife of Hugh III, 120, 168, 173
 Isabella of Lusignan, 39, 40
 Isabella, daughter of Guy of Lusignan, niece of Henry II, 166
 Izz al-Din Aybak al-Turk al-Hamawi (?), 153

 Jacopo Colonna, 136
 Jacopo d'Avogaro, 155
 Jacopo Tiepolo, 101
 Jacques Vidal, 81
 al-Jadiyah (village), 156
 Jaffa, 20, 24, 59, 120
 James Costa, 181
 James I of Aragon, 53
 James II of Aragon, 50, 145
 James of Artuse, 181
 James of Floury, 174, 181
 James of La Mandelée, 112
 James of Molay, 13, 37, 179–180
 James Vidal, 37
 Jeanne of Châtillon, 107
 Jeannette of Montfort, granddaughter of Humphrey of Montfort, 84

- Jericho, 20, 120
 Jerusalem, 20, 120, 121
 John II of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, 36
 John Babin, 174
 John de Montfort, Count of Esquilac and of Montescaglioso, 95
 John I of Brittany, 67
 John I of Cyprus & Jerusalem, 81, 84, 85
 John I of Namur, 163
 John II of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, 37
 John Layze, 175
 John le Miege, 7–10, 174, 182
 John Lombard, 182
 John of Antioch, 155
 John of Brie, 182
 John of Grailly, 101, 107, 113
 John of Ibelin, Count of Jaffa, 23, 25, 27, 40, 52
 John of Ibelin, Lord of Arsuf, 21, 29, 33
 John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut, 43, 62, 174
 John of Ibelin, Lord of Beirut (d. 1236), 15
 John of Jubail, 32, 36, 37, 72, 78, 79, 157
 John of Jubail of Syria (Arneb), 173
 John of Montfort, 2, 3, 11, 61, 62, 65, 71, 75, 79, 82–83, 86, 100, 101, 166
 John of Montfort, son of Humphrey of Montfort, 83
 John of Montfort, son of Philip of Montfort & Eleanor of Auxerre, 83
 John of Tour, 179, 180
 John of Troyes, 59
 John of Villiers, 1, 84, 96, 97, 104, 111, 113, 169
 John Renier, 33
 John Tristan, son of Louis IX, 63
 John Turk (John of Ancona), 137
 John XXI, 74
 John, Duke of Durazzo, 145
 Jubail, 25, 72–73, 75, 78–79, 153, 155
 Judge of Cinarca, The (Simoncello?), 87, 143
 Julian of Sidon, 11, 21, 35, 36, 63, 64, 71, 118
 Julien Le Jaune., 85
 Kantara, 119
 Kerak in Montreal (Moab), 120
 Khalil al-Ashraf, 4, 12, 77, 102–103, 104, 105, 108, 109, 116, 117, 122
 Khorezmians, 19
 King's Wall, Acre, 106
 Kipchak. *See* Sayf al-Din Qibjaq
 Kitbogha, 35, 38, 146
 Kolossi, 170
 Konya, 149
 Krak des Chevaliers, 55, 66, 153
 Kutuz, 37, 38
 Kyrenia, 7, 119, 175, 182
 La Forbie. *See* Forbie, La
 Lachin. *See* Lajin al-Mansur
 Laias. *See* Ayas
 Lajazzo. *See* Ayas
 Lajin al-Mansur, 122, 123, 145
 Lamba Doria, 140, 141
 Lanfranco Ceba, 171
 Lamaca, 5, 132, 167
 Latakia, 95, 118
 Le Gerin (Jezreel), 121
 Legio, 121
 Leo Grimaldi, 24
 Leo, Templar casulier, 51
 Leon II of Armenia, 52, 59, 78, 95
 Leon III of Armenia, 12, 138, 176, 177
 Levanto, 16
 Lille, 164, 165
 Limassol, 21, 26, 67, 75, 119, 132, 167, 170
 Lombardy, 143, 158
 Lorenzo Tiepolo (*Copa Copia?*), 23, 24, 29
 Louis IX of France, 22, 31
 Louis IX of France (St. Louis), 12, 20, 21, 22, 42, 44, 48, 56, 62, 63, 85, 99, 113
 Louis of Beaujeu, 85
 Louis of Nores, 173
 Lucera (Nocera), 48
 Luchetto Grimaldi, 55, 56
 Lucianne of Antioch. *See* Lucy of Antioch
 Lucy of Antioch, 70, 95–98, 99, 100
 Lydda, 120
 Lyons, Second Council of, 20, 69
 Mailliant of Piombino, 92, 93
 Malta, 41, 42
 Manfred, 18, 19, 48–50, 57, 58
 Mansel, nephew of Bartholomew of Tortosa, 73
 Manuele Zaccaria, 139
 Maraclea, 76, 156, 157
 Marco Mazilli (or Basilio), 5, 132

- Margaret of Antioch, 2, 11, 61, 62, 71, 82, 99, 100
 Margaret of Brienne-Beaumont, 99
 Margaret of Lusignan, 138. *See* Margaret of Antioch
 Margaret of Sidon, 71
 Margat, 75, 77, 85
 Maria of Lusignan, d. of Melisende & Bohemond IV, 10, 60, 61, 66, 74, 81
 Marseilles, 40
 Masé Goulart, 73
 Matthew of Clermont, 101, 116
 Matthew Sauvage, 36
Maupas Gate, Acre, 54
 Melian of Marino, 42
 Meloria, battle of, 91
 Menego Schiavo, 141
 Mengu Temur, 78, 150
 Merle (Mirla?), 120
 Messina, 29, 80, 81, 84, 85, 95, 139, 140
 Michael II Angelus Comnenus, 19
 Michael VIII Palaeologus, 39, 80
 Mirabel, 120, 121
 Mohammed, 148
 Monaco, 143
Moncucu, Templar woods, 72
 Möngke, 33
 Mongolia, 146
 Mongols, 10–12, 33–35, 37, 38, 40, 52, 59, 74, 76–78, 95, 98, 104, 137, 138, 146–152, 154–158, 160, 176, 177
 Mont Pèlerin, 101
 Montfort (Starkenbug), 53, 67
 Montmusard, Acre, 54, 93, 107, 110, 111, 115
 Mosul, 149
 Muhammad, 34
 Mulay, 154, 155
 al-Mustasim, caliph of Baghdad 1242–58, 148–49

 Nablus, 20, 120, 121
 Naples, 58, 84, 95, 158
 Narjot III of Toucy, 70, 95, 96
 al-Nasir Muhammad, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 160
 Nazareth, 120
 Nephin, 67, 73, 75, 79, 96, 99, 155
 New Tripoli, 101
 Niccolò de Mari, 91
 Niccolò Spinola, 16

 Nicholas III, 74
 Nicholas IV, 101, 121
 Nicholas of Hanapes, 104, 115
 Nicholas of Lorgne, 75, 84
 Nicholas of St. Bertin, 181
 Nicholas the Franciscan, 133
 Nicoletto Morosini, 178
 Nicosia, 119, 132
 Nile, 156

 Oberto Doria, 139
 Ocean Sea, 146
 Odo des Pins, 169
 Odo Poilechien, 81, 86
 Oliver of Termes, 43, 53, 54
 Orlando Ascheri, 92, 93, 94
 Oshin I of Armenia, 12, 176–178, 181, 182
 Otranto, 42
 Otto of Grandson, 8, 107, 113, 134
 Our Lady of Tyre, Nicosia, 61

 Palermo, 81
 Palestrina castle, 136
 Paoletto Dolfin, 133
 Papano Mallone, 55, 79
 Paphos, 92, 119
 Paris, 85, 180
 Pasquetto Mallone, 29, 55
 Pasquino Mallone, 29
 Paul of La Teffaha, 73, 78
 Pera (Galata), 133, 139
 Persia, 34
 Pertous, 146
 Peter II of Sergines, 20
 Peter III of Aragon, 50, 80, 81, 85
 Peter of Moncada, 99, 101
 Peter of Mornay (?), 159
 Peter of Sevrey, 116, 117
 Philermo, 170
 Philip III of France, 10, 85
 Philip IV of France, 5, 10, 12, 144, 158–159, 160–165, 179, 180, 181, 182
 Philip Mainebeuf, 104
 Philip of Brie, 132
 Philip of Ibelin, 5, 131–132, 167, 173, 174, 181
 Philip of Jubail, 181
 Philip of Montfort, 2, 20, 24, 26, 27, 36, 43, 60–61, 63–65, 83
 Philip of Montfort, son of Humphrey of

- Montfort, 83
 Philip, Prince of Taranto and of Achaea, 145
 Philippina of Flanders, 144, 162
 Pianosa, 88
 Pierre Le Jaune, 171
 Pierre le Roy, 163
 Pietro Brice, 23
 Pietro Colonna, 136
 Pietro of Aubergamo, 96
 Piombino, 91, 92
 Pisa, 16, 87, 88, 89, 91, 143
 Plaisance, queen of Cyprus & Jerusalem, 23, 25, 26, 39, 56, 70
 Point of Mamistra, 135
 Pontoise, 163
Porbonel (Port Bonnel or Arsuz), 59
 Port Bonnel. *See* Porbonel
 Port of the Chain, Acre, 92
 Principate, The, 18, 143, 158
 Provence, 143
 Puy de Conestable, 73

 Qalawun, 12, 61, 76–78, 85, 94, 95, 98–100, 101–103, 104, 105
 Qaqun, 68
 Quai of the Marquis, Acre, 93
 Quinsay. *See* Hang-chow
 Qutlugh-shah, 157

 Ralph, bishop of Lydda, 20
 Ramla, 120
 Ranieri Grimaldi, 164, 165
 Raymond Drapier, 92
 Raymond of Toulouse, 26
 Raymond Viscount, 155
 Raymond, illegitimate brother of Bohemond VII, 73
 Reconquista, 12
 Reddecoeur, 78, 99, 101
 Reynald of Saisons, 174
 Rhodes, 12, 166, 170–172, 178
 Richard of Cornwall, 45, 47
 Rita (Maria-Xenia) of Armenia, 177
 Robert II of Artois, 95, 163
 Robert II of Burgundy, 162, 163
 Robert of Artois, 21
 Robert of Crésèques, 53, 54
 Robert of Flanders, 144
 Robert of Nantes, 22
 Roche de Roussel, 59

 Roche Guillaume, 145
 Roger of La Colee, 73
 Roger of Loria, 145
 Roger of San Severino, 10, 74, 75, 81
 Roland de la Baume, 173
 Romagna, The, 158
 Romania, 88, 131, 133, 135
 Rome, 16, 48, 57, 74, 158, 159, 162, 179
 Romeo Quirino di Ca' Maggiore, 143
 Rosetta, 156
 Rosso Aldobrandini, 47
 Rosso della Turca, 27
 Roux of Sully, 101
 Ruad, 12, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161
 Rukn ad-Din Tatsu al-Mansuri. *See* Tatsu
 Rupin of Montfort, son of Humphrey of Montfort, 83
 Al-Ruwais. *See* Caroublier

 Safad, 36, 50–55, 120, 121
 Al-Sa'id Nasir al-Din Berke Khan. *See* Berke Khan
 Saido Doria, 171, 178
 Saladin, 114
 Al-Salih Ayyub, 21, 22
 Al-Salih Ismail, 20
 al-Salhiyah, 99, 103
 Salines, 132
 Salisbury, 47
 Samuel the Doctor, 82
 San Germano, 49
 San Romano, Acre, 110, 113
 Sancho IV of Castile & Leon, 129, 130
Sandamour. *See* Sayf al-Din Esendemür
 Sanjar al-Shuja'i, 106, 109, 118, 119, 123
 Saone, 95
 Sardinia, 88, 137, 139
 Sayf al-Din Esendemür, 153, 160, 161
 Sayf al-Din Qibjaq, 154, 155
 Scandelion, 120
 Sclavonia, 140
 Sempad I of Armenia, 137, 138, 177, 178
 Serventikar, 146
Settepons. *See* Spetzopoulo
 Seville, 43
 Shams al-Din Sunqur al-Ashqar, 59, 94, 95
 Sibylla of Armenia, 70, 96, 99, 100
 Sicily, 16, 18, 41, 48, 81, 136, 139, 143, 158

- Sidon, 4, 21, 35, 36, 37, 56, 75, 118, 119,
120, 121, 146
fall of, 118–119
- Simon de Montfort, 10, 12, 45, 46, 47
- Simon of Aguilers, 175
- Simon of Montolif, 84
- Simoncello. *See* Judge of Cinarca
- Simone de Claritea, 30
- Simone Grillo, 41, 42, 43
- Sis, 160
- Spain, 129
- Spetzopoulo, 30
- Spinola family, 143
- St. George & Bethlehem, Confraternity
of. *See* Confraternity of St. George &
Bethlehem
- St. George (region), 120, 121
- St. George of La Baene, 68
- St. Germain l'Aguillier, 49
- St. Hilarion. *See* Dieudamour
- St. John-of-Sebastea, 120
- St. Lazarus, Knights of, 27
- St. Leonard, Acre, 113
- St. Nicholas Island, Venice, 142
- Starkenbug. *See* Montfort
- Stephen of Saisy, 36
- Straits of Gibraltar, 129
- Street of St. Anne, Acre, 114
- Suger of *La Seete*, 23, 27
- Sulemish, 151
- Sunqur al-Ashqar. *See* Shams al-Din
Sunqur al-Ashqar
- Tabor, Mount, 39
- Tabriz, 34
- Tagliacozzo, 57–59
- Taqsu, 102
- Tartars. *See* Mongols
- 'Templar of Tyre', Identity, 2–7
- Templars, 2–5, 8, 10, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23–
25, 27, 28, 31, 35–37, 40, 50–51, 53,
56, 59–60, 63, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74–75,
78, 85–86, 92, 94, 96, 97, 99, 101,
102, 103, 104–105, 107, 108, 110–
112, 114–118, 131, 145, 147, 155,
157, 158, 160, 161, 179, 180
trial of, 179–180
- Teutonic Knights, 24, 52, 53, 67, 70, 86,
96, 97, 104, 113, 115
- Theobald Gaudin, 4, 37, 92, 117, 118, 179
- Theobald V of Navarre & Champagne,
56, 62, 63
- Thomas Bérard, 23, 25, 27–28, 36, 56, 69
- Thomas of Beaufort, 181
- Thomas of Brie, 175
- Thomas of Ibelin, 175
- Thoros III of Armenia, 137, 138, 177
- Thoros of Armenia, 52
- Tiberias, 21, 36, 38, 52, 121, 146, 149
- Tigris river, 76
- Tommaso Spinola (1), 57, 58
- Tommaso Spinola (2), 3, 80, 88, 92, 93,
94, 139, 143
- Toron (region), 83, 120
- Toron of Saladin, The, 53
- Toron, outside Acre, 105
- Tortosa, 85, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161
- Tower of Hope, Margat, 85
- Tower of St. Catherine, Tyre, 42
- Tower of the Chain, Tyre, 42
- Tower of the Countess of Blois, Acre, 107
- Tower of the Flies, Acre, 55, 92
- Tower of the Hospitallers, Tripoli, 100
- Tower of the King, Acre, 106, 109
- Tower of the Legate, Acre, 112, 113
- Tower of the Patriarch, Acre, 108
- Trapani, 29, 63
- Tripoli, 12, 31, 32, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75,
85, 94, 96–101, 153, 160
fall of, 100–101
- Tunis, 57, 62
- Turkey, 149, 151, 160, 170, 172, 177
- Turuntay, 95, 103
- Tuscany, 47, 143, 158
- Tyre, 2, 3, 17, 26, 27–29, 35, 36, 41–43,
55, 56, 60, 61, 63, 64, 71, 75, 79, 82–
84, 86, 92–94, 98, 116, 120, 121, 166
fall of, 116
- Udo Vento, 30
- Urban IV, 39, 41, 43
- Venice, 23, 29, 41–42, 56, 89, 101, 131,
132, 138–139, 140, 142, 143, 162
- Venice, Gulf of, 41, 134, 139, 140
- Vigne-Neuve, La, 27–28
- Vignolo di Vignoli, 170, 171
- Viterbo, 47
- Wadi al-Khazinder, battle of, 152
- Walter IV of Brienne, 19, 56
- William de la Tour, 131

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| William Embriaco, 71 | William of Jubail, 79 |
| William of Agen, 41, 55, 56 | William of Mirabel, 6 |
| William of Antioch, 31, 32 | William of Picquigny, 65 |
| William of Beaujeu, 2–4, 37, 69, 72, 73, | William of Roussillon, 70 |
| 85, 92, 93–94, 96, 97, 99, 102, 103, | William of Tyre, 1, 9, 17, 20 |
| 104, 105, 107, 110–113, 116, 118, | William of Villaret, 1, 169 |
| 147, 179, 181 | William of Villiers, 108 |
| William of Caffran, 108 | William Porcellet, 78 |
| William of Cardona, 101 | William Roussel, 181 |
| William of Châteauneuf, 19, 27 | William Trabuc, 73 |
| William of Flanders, 21 | |